

SEP 23 1947

391
The Attorney General

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

JOSEPH PETER KAMP;
THE CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED

19589

In accordance with your request, there is attached a memorandum containing a summary of the information in this Bureau's files with regard to Joseph Peter Kamp and the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated. The activities of Kamp and the above mentioned League are being followed by the Bureau at the specific request of the Criminal Division of the Department.

Attachment

SENT FROM S. O.

9:30 AM
9/23/47

9/24/47
P. A. SH

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Egan
- Mr. Gurnea
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Jones
- Mr. Mumford
- Mr. Quinn
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

331 A

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September 22, 1944

JOSEPH PETER KAMP
THE CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED

Joseph Peter Kamp was born May 3, 1900 at Yonkers, New York and according to birth certificate #18216, he is registered under the name Joseph William Kamp. However, he has always used the middle name Peter.

The following brief background of Joseph P. Kamp is contained in the inside cover of a booklet entitled "The Fifth Column in Washington", which was published in June, 1940 by the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated:

"In 1933-34, Mr. Kamp was Executive Vice President of the Robert J. Wagner Democratic Association in the democratic stronghold of the Nation, Senator Robert J. Wagner's district. In September, 1934, he was named Secretary of the General Committee of the Westchester County New York democratic organization; a designation which, however, he was unable to accept. An editor of newspapers and magazines and for more than twenty years a student of subversive movements, he writes with authority".

Until 1937, Kamp was Executive Editor and Publisher of the now defunct magazine "Awakener", which has been described as having been a Fascist magazine. Associated with Kamp in his publication of the "Awakener" was Harold Lord Varney, who was connected with the Italian Historical Society of New York and collaborated with Kamp in the publication of the pamphlet entitled "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America".

Joseph P. Kamp was made Chairman of the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated at the time of its origin in the State of Connecticut in 1937. The other officers of the League at that time were W. Byron Swartz, Vice President, Orange, Connecticut; Chester A. Hanson, Treasurer and Agent, Milford, Connecticut; and Madelyn A. Cannon, Assistant Treasurer and Secretary, New Haven, Connecticut.

It appears, however, that subject organization was in existence for a number of years prior to 1937, as an unincorporated body with headquarters in the First National Bank Building, New Haven, Connecticut. As such, its indicated purpose under the direction of Chester A. Hanson and Joseph P. Kamp was to develop facts concerning the workings of Communist and other alien movements and to disseminate this information through every known means of public expression including newspapers, magazines, speakers, and the radio.

At the time of its incorporation in 1937, the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated, indicated that its corporate purposes were:

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EX-24

61-10355-391
 SEP 23 1944

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Coffey _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Vehr _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Mumford _____
 Mr. Jones _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

"To bring about a more complete understanding of the functions of our Government and the guarantees and provisions of its instrument, the Constitution of the United States; to inculcate patriotism and love of country; to investigate and expose the subversive elements which are seeking to undermine the faith of the American people in their institutions and to foster this general program through the medium of the spoken word".

In one of its circulars the League revealed that among its objectives were legislation to remove all Communists from public payrolls and a continuance of the Dies Committee with adequate funds for exposing all forms of subversive activity.

The League maintains its headquarters at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, at which its principal volume of business is conducted. In addition thereto, it maintains an office at 631 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut; and a branch office at Madison, Wisconsin, under the direction of John E. Waters, head of the Midwestern district of the League. A southern branch which is now closed, was formerly maintained in Birmingham, Alabama. Efforts to establish offices in other cities of the United States appear to have been unsuccessful.

The officers of the League at the time of its incorporation have heretofore been set forth. More recent information indicates that the officers of the League are as follows:

Chairman - Brigadier General Luke H. Callan, recent candidate for Governor of Rhode Island

Executive Vice Chairman - Joseph P. Kamp, former Vice President, Kamp Construction Company and Editor and Publisher of "The Awakener" of New York City

Vice Chairman - W. Byron Swartz, Byron Tire and Rubber Company, New Haven, Connecticut

Vice Chairman - Judge Leonard McMahon, Danbury, Connecticut

Secretary Southern Department - Mildred M. Hall, Birmingham, Alabama

Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer - Madelyn Cannon

Midwest Secretary - John E. Waters, Madison, Wisconsin

It has been reported that many of the committeemen of the League have been active in veteran circles and have included Major General R. E. Noble, former Surgeon General of the United States Army and Commander Nelson Pickering, a Connecticut manufacturer.

Under the actual leadership of Joseph P. Kamp, the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated, has been conducting most of its business at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

"The Hour", which is a mimeographed publication reported to be subsidized by the Anti-Defamation League, claims in the issue of August 17, 1940, that Kamp was one of the sponsors of the "pro-America mass meeting" which was addressed by Major John E. Kelley, identified as a Fascist of Jersey City, New Jersey, who has spoken before meetings of the German-American Bund and the Christian Front. Kamp is known to have distributed anti-Semitic literature. At one time he concentrated on the distribution of the forged "Benjamin Franklin letter" relative to the Jews. Another anti-Semitic publication which Kamp distributed was "Why Are the Jews Persecuted for Their Religion?" "The Hour" further states that Kamp is known to have cooperated with William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts. He is reported to be an intimate acquaintance of Elizabeth Dilling, the author of the "Red Network".

Information which is unverified has been received to the effect that Kamp has an autographed photograph of Adolf Hitler in his office at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The activities of the League date back approximately ten years prior to its incorporation. Among the publications issued by the League under the leadership of Kamp are:

- ✓ "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" (1937)
 - ✓ "The Hell of Herrin.... Rages Again" (1937)
 - ✓ "Headlines and What's Behind Them" (1939)
 - ✓ "The Fifth Column in Washington!" (1940)
 - ✓ "The Fifth Column in the South" (1940)
 - ✓ "The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee" (1941)
 - ✓ "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" (1941)
 - ✓ "Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For" (1942)
 - ✓ "Native Nazi Purge Plot" (1942)
 - ✓ "What's Cookin" (1942)
 - ✓ "Famine in America" (1943)
 - ✓ "Mr. Congressman: This Man Says.... You Are a Traitor" (1943)
 - ✓ Various pamphlets headed: "Department of Justice Memo Re:..."
- All of these pamphlets carry the words "Strictly Confidential" and "From the Secret Files of the FBI" on the cover. They pertain to the following subjects:
- ✓ "National Negro Congress" (1942)
 - ✓ "American Youth Congress" (1942)
 - ✓ "Washington Cooperative Bookshop" (1943)
 - ✓ "American Peace Mobilization";
 - ✓ "American Peoples Mobilization" (1943)

- ✓ "League of American Writers" (1943)
- ✓ "The American League Against War and Fascism";
- ✓ "The American League for Peace and Democracy" (1943)
- ✓ "The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" (1943)
- ✓ "National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners";
- ✓ "National Committee for People's Rights" (1943)
- ✓ "Washington Committee for Democratic Action" (1943)
- ✓ "With Lotions of Love...." (1944)
- ✓ "The Hell With G.I. Joe" (1944)

"Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" and "The Hell of Herrin....Rages Again" both attack John L. Lewis and the CIO. Lewis is accused of being "Communistically inclined" and "a traitor to labor".

"The Fifth Column in Washington" was published in June, 1940, and contains a list of employees of the Government who are alleged to be Communists or Communist sympathizers. Among those listed are Robert Lovett, Secretary of the Virgin Islands; Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General of the United States; Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; and Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor.

"The Fifth Column in the South" points out the alleged dangerous growth of Communism in that part of the country and accuses Mrs. Roosevelt of heading the Communist movement by her financial assistance to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. It also attacks the spread of the CIO through the South and states that the Communists and the CIO were working together particularly among the southern negroes.

"The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee" advocates continuance of this committee. It accuses the Department of Justice of alleged attempts to bring the Dies Committee into ill repute.

"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" is a map which purports to indicate the various Nazi, Fascist, and Communist spots in the United States.

The pamphlet "Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For", seems to be a follow-up to the pamphlet "The Fifth Column in Washington". It reiterates in substance the complaint of the Dies Committee that "Reds" have infiltrated into leading positions in our Government. It concludes with a form letter on the back page urging the President "to purge the Government of these un-American elements". It requests that this letter be sent to the President.

"Native Nazi Purge Plot", is primarily concerned with present political developments and charges that the present administration is attempting to purge both the Senate and the House of Representatives of those who

did not support the administration's foreign policy prior to the war. It criticizes the publication entitled "The Hour", an anti-Nazi news sheet published in New York City; The Union for Democratic Action; the Communist Party; The Council for Democracy; Friends of Democracy, and other organizations, inferring both by direct statement and innuendo that these organizations are Communist dominated. The pamphlet also contains various statements lauding the activities of the Dies Committee.

"What's Cookin" purports to tell the "truth" about the rationing of sugar, rubber, and gas and attempts to show a great amount of confusion among various Government agencies as to the necessity of the rationing of the above articles.

"Famine in America" is a diatribe against the administration and especially against Joseph Weiner of the Office of Civilian Supply for his "slashing" of the manufacture of farm machinery by an estimated 70%, as well as his cutting down of farm production in this country. The article quotes numerous Congressmen and concludes that there is a strong possibility of a famine in this country unless something is done to relieve the restrictions now placed on the farmers. The solution, as advocated by the League, is to "purge Government Departments...of all Communist and Socialist 'class warriors', incompetents, visionaries...and misfits", and to "place the Nation's affairs...in the hands of capable, experienced, honest experts whose loyalty to American principles of Government has never been questioned".

The pamphlet "Mr. Congressman: This Man Says....You Are a Traitor" has on the cover a photograph of Walter Winchell in the uniform of a Lieutenant Commander in the United States Navy. Winchell is upbraided for inferring that certain Congressmen are traitors to the country and a clipping from the Herald-Tribune dated February 9, 1943, and headed "Winchell's 'trap' story is refuted by the FBI", is reproduced on the back cover.

The "National Negro Congress" pamphlet contains an outline of the background and activities of the Congress including its purported connection with the Communist Party.

The pamphlet on "American Youth Congress" is similar to that mentioned above and also attempts to show the relationship between the Communist Party and the "American Youth Congress".

The "Washington Cooperative Bookshop" pamphlet outlines the alleged activities of the Bookshop and its Communist connections.

The pamphlet on the "American Peace Mobilization", later called the "American Peoples Mobilization" alleges that the organization is controlled by the Communist Party. The main reason for this allegation is given as the

change in policy of the organization immediately after the attack by Germany on Russia from one of non-intervention to one of all-out aid to Russia.

The pamphlet pertaining to the "League of American Writers" cites the activities of the League in changing from condemnation of possible United States participation in the war as of June, 1941 to advocacy of all-out aid to the Soviet Union in July, 1941. This attitude is given as evidence of Communist Party affiliation.

The pamphlet concerning the "American League Against War and Fascism", later called the "American League for Peace and Democracy" gives the background and activities of this organization and purports to show that it is Communist controlled.

The "National Federation for Constitutional Liberties" pamphlet outlines the activities of the Federation and alleges that the organization was formed as a "Trojan Horse" for the Communist Party.

The pamphlet on the "National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners", later called "National Committee for the Peoples Rights", outlines the activities of the Committee and characterizes it as "transmission belt" for the Communist Party.

The "Washington Committee for Democratic Action" pamphlet purports to outline the aims and purposes of the Committee as well as its alleged tie-in with the Communist Party.

"With Lotions of Love" written by Joseph P. Kamp is a diatribe against Walter Winchell describing him as being directly connected with Communist Party activities in this country as well as an ex-isolationist and a dupe of Axis agents". Kamp states that Winchell has tried to undermine the morale of the United States through his attacks on various Congressmen and accuses the columnist of printing libelous statements against very prominent United States citizens in his column. In this same pamphlet, Kamp attacks the activities of various organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League, Friends of Democracy, American Jewish Committee, and the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League which he classifies as the "Un-American Gestapo" engaged in investigating activities of loyal American groups and individuals.

In addition, Kamp makes the allegation that the present mass sedition trial was instigated by Communist dominated organizations in this country and further states that the trial is unwarranted and the defendants "framed" by the above mentioned "Un-American Gestapo".

The subheading of the pamphlet, "The Hell With G.I. Joe", is "Bureaucratic Regimentation vs. Constitutional Government" and it purports to contain quotations from various individuals in public office including

Senator W. Lee O'Daniel, Paul McNutt, Albert Jay Neck, listed in "Who's Who" for 1940-41 as an author and educator, Attorney General Francis Biddle and Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, John Edgar Hoover. An attempt is made through alleged quotations taken from speeches and statements made by the above mentioned persons to show that under the present form of government the rights which a citizen should expect under a democracy have been taken away.

Under various headings such as "You Can't Take That Path!", "You Can't Wear That!", "You Can't Say That!", "You Can't Print That!", and "You Can't Get Justice!", Kamp attempts to show that a citizen of this country is restricted in all of his activities by government regulations. In conclusion, Kamp calls on the American public to "save America" for "G.I. Joe" by returning this country to its constitutional form of government.

In addition to the pamphlets described above, it has been reported that Kamp has completed a manuscript for a book to be entitled "Un-American Gestapo" in which Kamp is said to attempt to expose the "obvious inaccuracies and libels in the smear 'Under Cover'" by John Roy Carlson. At the present time, however, no information has been received that this book has actually been released.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMO

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE:

FROM : J. K. MUMFORD

September 26, 1944
3:30 PM

SUBJECT: Joseph P. Kamp

19588

By reference from the Director's Office, I spoke with Congressman Anderson of New Mexico who advised that they have a subpoena for Joseph Kamp to appear before the Committee on Campaign Expenditures on Friday of this week. He stated they had not intended to release this information to the newspapers but it was given out by Congressman Chasen, therefore giving Mr. Kamp plenty of notice that he is to be subpoenaed. Congressman Anderson stated that he believes they will have trouble in locating Kamp to serve this subpoena if just someone from the Appropriations Committee or his Committee tries to serve it and inquired if there is any possibility that the FBI might assist them in this regard.

The Departmental rule for such a matter was explained to the Congressman and he was told that we could not possibly serve the subpoena without the approval of the Department. He stated that he has talked to Mr. McGranery about this matter sometime ago and at that time Mr. McGranery indicated that the Department would be very glad to help them out in this particular case. He further stated that he had been trying to contact Mr. McGranery today but so far as not been able to contact him. He stated, however, that he would again try to reach Mr. McGranery and take this matter up with him.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Call: 5:30 PM

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: Sept. 26, 1944

FROM : MR. LADD

1958

SUBJECT:

In accordance with your instructions, I called Mr. McGranery and advised him that Congressman Clint Anderson, who is head of the Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, had called and said that they have been trying to subpoena Joe Kamp; that they have been unable to locate him and that they wanted the Bureau to assist in locating him. I told Mr. McGranery that Congressman Anderson had been informed that the FBI could do nothing without Department approval and that you had asked me to call him to obtain his opinion.

Mr. McGranery said that he had talked to the Congressman around 4 o'clock this afternoon; that he wanted the FBI to serve a subpoena on Kamp; that he had told him the FBI couldn't do this and had referred him to the U. S. Marshal. He said that will take care of the matter.

Mr. McGranery asked for Kamp's address and I told him that our files show his home address as 3 East 54th Street, New York City; home - 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

RECORDED

EX-8

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E. E. Conroy
New York, N.Y.
September 22, 1944.

Mr. Hoover:

The following item appeared in
Walter Winchell's column today:

"Public nuisance Joe ^①Kamp (who
claims to be fighting the Commys) once
urged his followers to withhold informa-
tion regarding Commy activities from the
FBI."

Kamp recently wrote, and had pub-
lished a small book entitled "With Lotions
of Love to Walter Winchell." A number of
copies of this book are already in circu-
lation but for some reason no additional
copies are now available. The rumor
about town is that Walter Winchell, through
his contacts in the Administration, has
had the paper supply to the publishing
house which handled this book shut off.

Presumably removed

E. E. Conroy
E. E. CONROY

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

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EX - 49

161-103-3-394
29 SEP 26 1944

Healy

RD

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Record of Telephone Call or Visitor

September 26, 1944

Time 3:23PM

Name CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE CLINTON
P. ANDERSON tele locally

Referred to _____

Details: (Call announced)

When advised Mr. Hoover was in the building but not in his office, the Congressman consented to speak with an assistant. After checking, the call was transferred to Mr. Mumford.

3:30PM - Mr. Mumford advised that the Congressman stated the papers had publicized the fact that the Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, of which Congressman Anderson is Chairman, is to subpoena Joseph Kamp. In view of this, the Congressman believed difficulty would be experienced in locating Kamp and he desired to obtain the Bureau's aid in locating him. The Congressman was informed that the Bureau could not take such action without the approval of the Attorney General. Congressman Anderson advised Mr. Mumford he had endeavored to get in touch with Mr. James McGranery and would continue his efforts.

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Coffey
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Acers
Mr. Carson
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Mumford
Mr. Starke
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Beahm
Miss Gandy

Take info at once with
McGranery & clear.

Q

P

2

ENCLOSURE

61-1355-396

ORK TIMES, MONDAY,

DIES TO WINCHELL: 'SMEAR BUND TOOL'

Texan Declares Columnist Is
in Service of Powerful and
Organized Interests

Attempt to Destroy Prestige
of Congress and Public
Men Is Alleged

Representative Martin Dies of
Texas, utilizing radio time allotted
by the sponsors of Walter Winchell
and following the columnist on the
air, last night called him the "tool"
of a "smear Bund" of powerful
and organized interests and prom-
ised that the Congressional com-
mittee investigating subversive ac-

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WINCHELL GETS A TASTE
OF HIS OWN MEDICINE

19585

New York:... Walter Winchell, who publicly admits to being the country's outstanding reporter of gossip and scandal, becomes the victim of his own device -- gets a taste of his own medicine -- in a 52-page booklet just published in which he is handed his own species of "scallions" and is accused of being a "dupe of Axis agents," a promoter of "Hitler's 'divide and conquer' strategy" and a leading figure in an asserted home-front plot to impose totalitarian government on the United States.

It is also charged in the booklet that Winchell is the "mouth-piece" for an "un-American Gestapo" and the "press agent stooge" of a Smear Bund.

The booklet, which prys into Winchell's private affairs, probes his public pronouncements, reviews his "checkered" career and declares that he is powerful and dangerous and a menace to America, is authored by Joseph B. Kamp, New York publicist who has been excoriated by Winchell principally as a collaborator of Congressman Martin Dies.

Entitled, in sly and bitter humor, "With lotions of love..." the booklet is published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc. of which Mr. Kamp is a vice chairman. The League was organized by war veterans in 1919 under the sponsorship of President William Howard Taft and General Leonard Wood and is known nationally for its militant opposition to un-American activities and for its exposures of communists, fascists and Nazis.

"With lotions of love..." picks up the Winchell saga where other biographers have left off. It gives time, place and unrestricted detail of asserted incidents in the career of "America's number one newsboy." "It is certain to raise Winchell's blood pressure as well as the reader's eyebrows," the author said in a statement.

The booklet declares that "Winchell, as a Naval officer, is a joke," and then proceeds to tell in detail how little he knows about the Navy and recites the unbelievable story of his "active" service record. It points out that, contrary to Winchell's public statements, he had requested "deferred status" because "he believes he can best serve interests of Navy by remaining in an inactive status." (MORE)

Winchell's slurs against the Army are also highlighted together with the charge that his "propaganda" has been branded as "detrimental to the war effort" by Military Intelligence. 19586

Winchell's one-man campaign against Congress is given particular attention with special emphasis on his controversy with Congressman Dies, and his passages-at-arms with Representatives Rankin & Hoffman.

While admitting that Winchell is "probably not a Communist," the author asserts that he is "much worse than a Communist" and in support of his accusation enumerates some of the columnist's acts and items which are asserted to have helped the Communist cause.

In releasing the booklet Mr. Kamp declared: "For twenty years Winchell has perpetrated a ludicrous and mischievous hoax. Numerous articles and several books have been written about him and his mean and malicious scandalmongering. While all of these previous writings have been factual in content, most of them have presented Winchell as nothing more sinister than an illiterate boor... a dull fellow, with a penchant for smart-alecky wise cracking, who generally amused his 130,000,000 American betters by a frank confession of peeping under drawn blinds and sniffing at social garbage cans.

"My purpose is to allow the American people to see for the first time this Jester to the Court of Bad Taste stripped of his cap and bells so that they may judge for themselves whether his war time antics are those of a clown or a conspirator."

In a preface to his booklet, Mr. Kamp identifies Winchell as an important and vociferous agent of a home front underground movement seeking to impose a totalitarian form of government on the people of the United States.

This movement, according to the booklet, is headed by a powerful group of internationalists whose political-sociological scheming involves "high personages" in official Washington. This movement, the booklet discloses is aided and abetted by a Smear Bund which maintains an "Unamerican Gestapo" to snoop on the American people and to spy on representative patriotic organizations.

"The Dies Committee is catalogued as a Fascist outfit", the booklet charges, and Little Business Men of America, the Raquet Club, the Republican Club, the Prayer League of America, the U.S. Police Reserve Association, the Society of the Cincinnati and the International Catholic Truth Society, among others, are named as "subversive organizations in the 'secret' files".

"Investigation further discloses," the author declares, "that a listing of 'borderline' subversive groups includes the American Bar Association, The Republican National Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Knights of Columbus, the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars".

The heavily documented material in "WITH LOTIONS OF LOVE..." is taken mainly from two chapters of Mr. Kamp's forthcoming book UNAMERICAN GESTAPO.

JSG:vj

9-27-44

67-10355-397 RECORDED

The Attorney General

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

JOSEPH PETER KAMP

THE CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED

Reference is made to your memorandum of September 22, 1944 to Mr. James P. McGranery, a copy of which was furnished to me. It is noted that this memorandum referred to its attached newspaper clipping from the Times-Herald of September 21, 1944, in which Joseph P. Kamp was quoted as saying that the Department of Justice at one time began an inquiry into "subversive activities" of the American Bar Association and other well known organizations. In this connection your attention is called to a memorandum dated September 23, 1944 in which a summary of the data in the Bureau's files with regard to Kamp and the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated was furnished to you.

It is possible that you may not have the full picture with regard to the background of Kamp's allegations and for this reason the following information received by the Bureau is set forth:

While the Federal Bureau of Investigation has never conducted any inquiry into the activities of the groups mentioned by Kamp, during an inspection tour of the Western Offices of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in August, 1942, I learned from confidential sources that a Mr. Samuel Bisgyer, an attorney for the Department of Justice, was allegedly conducting an investigation of subversive organizations and had in his possession lists purporting to enumerate the groups under inquiry. Included in these lists were such organizations as the American Bar Association, the Knights of Columbus, and the National Association of Manufacturers, which were among those named by Kamp as being investigated by the Department of Justice. In addition there were also mentioned the following organizations which could in no sense be considered subversive: The American Legion Auxiliary, the American War Mothers, the Catholic Boy Scouts, the Catholic War Veterans, the Junior Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Military Order of the Purple Heart, the Sons of the American Revolution, and others.

It was reported to me that Mr. Bisgyer had displayed these lists to persons contacted by him in connection with his inquiry with the result that the various organizations included became aware of the fact and expressed considerable resentment. Among the organizations which Mr. Bisgyer contacted was the American Legion. Information has been received to the effect that a copy of the lists was obtained and is presently being retained in the files of the American Legion.

On August 20, 1942, I directed a memorandum to you calling your attention to this situation and expressing the feeling that it was most undesirable for any agency of the Department other than the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct investigations of subversive activities.

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Holloman.....
Mr. McGuire.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

In addition to the above, it was reported to this Bureau in December, 1942 that a representative of the Treasury Department, after a discussion with Mr. Lawrence M. C. Smith, then Chief of the Special War Policies Unit of the Department, received a list of "subversive organizations" with a request that their records be examined under the authority vested in the Treasury Department by the laws providing that organizations may claim exemption from income tax because of their eleemosynary status. The object of the examination would, of course, be to verify the claims of the organizations for exemption.

It was pointed out by the above mentioned representative of the Treasury Department that when the list of organizations was received it was found to contain names of a similar nature to those investigated by Mr. Bisgyer and included the American Legion, the American Legion Auxiliary, Federal Council of Churches, International Society of Christian Endeavor, etc.

It would appear from the above that while Kamp's statement before the Congressional Investigating Committee may not have been entirely accurate, the Department of Justice is not in a position to make an issue out of his allegations.

cc Mr. McGranery

September 28, 1944

19584

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARRINGTON

MR. HOOVER

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Mohr	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Harford	.....
Mr. Jones	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

Please note the attached newspaper clipping to the effect that the Department of Justice once began to inquire into subversive activities of the ~~American Bar Association~~, etc. I do not know where this information came from. I think it should be answered.

I think also that the Committee would be interested in some of the literature that Kamp's organization, the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated, is sending out and who are paying for it.

Will you get busy.

Francis Biddle
Attorney General

61-10355-397

SEP 28 1944

RECORDED & INDEXED

EX-6

5

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Memo to arg
9/27/44
peg

DEPARTMENT
OF
JUSTICE

Times-Herald (I)
Washington, D. C.
Circ. 209,105 (M)
210,925 (S)

Date SEP 21 1944

FBI Once Studied G.O.P., Vets As Subversive, Probers Told

Revelation Made by Democrat 'Trying
To Save Party From Hillman, Browder'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

A congressional investigating committee was started yesterday by testimony that the Department of Justice once began an inquiry into "subversive activities" of the following organizations:

The American Bar Association.
The Republican National Committee.
The National Association of Manufacturers.
Knights of Columbus.
The American Legion Americanization Committee.
The Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Inquiry Later Abandoned

Joseph P. Kamp, of New York City, acting chairman of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., disclosed the accusation before the special House committee investigating election expenditures.

Kamp said the Justice Department on an undisclosed date started an investigation into the five prominent organizations at the behest of the Anti-Defamation League of New York city, which he described as "the central unit of an un-American Gestapo which works in close harmony with the Department of Justice."

The inquiry was called off, he testified, when responsible officials "discovered what was going on."

Related Groups Named

Committee members indicated they would inquire into the charge by demanding from Kamp the New York city address of the Anti-Defamation League headquarters. They similarly requested information presumably preliminary to the summoning of five other organizations named by the witness as part of the "Gestapo." These were:

Friends of Democracy, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Committee, and American Analysis, Inc. All have headquarters in New York city.

Representative Murphy (D.) of Pennsylvania, remarked that the subject matter appeared to be more within the scope of the Dies Committee on un-American Activities. Other members noted, however, that Kamp's charges were not volunteered but elicited only under prolonged questioning concerning the activities of his organization. The charges having been aired, they commented, ought to be followed up.

Hillman, Browder Attacked

Kamp proclaimed himself a lifelong Democrat who is attempting to "save the party from Hillman and Browder."

"If Sidney Hillman takes over, we will have a Soviet America," he asserted.

Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, was quizzed by the committee last week about his group's slush

activities in behalf of a fourth term for President Roosevelt.

The 44-year-old witness refused to disclose to the committee any records showing the names of other officials of his organization, or of contributors or purchasers of the voluminous literature it distributed. He said his group studiously refrains from political activity.

Withholds Information

"We have never endorsed any candidate for public office nor engaged in partisan politics of any nature whatever," he asserted, "and I submit that our activities do not come within the legal scope of your committee's authority."

"Until a court of competent jurisdiction rules our activities political we must withhold any information regarding the finances of the League and the names of its contributors, because such information would come into the possession of the notorious smear band and would be used by enemies of this country to malign, harass, intimidate and persecute patriotic citizens who are helping the League to defend and protect constitutional government."

"Smearing Has Begun"

"The smearing has already begun. The blind's arch-smearer, Walter Winchell, made a lying attack on both myself and the League in Sunday night and the left-wing New York Post began its smear last Wednesday, quoting a committee investigator as accusing us of neglecting the committee's invitation even before we had received the committee's letter."

"If the League, as a publisher, can be subjected to investigation and forced to disclose the purchasers of its publications, is any publisher in America secure from such annoyance?"

Book "Under Cover" Attacked

"If our publications are political, then such smear books as 'Under Cover' (a purported expose of fascism in the United States) are political, particularly in attacks upon Members of Congress who are running for election this year. If our publications are to be scrutinized, then the un-American elements which cooperated in the mass distribution of 'Under Cover' and similar publications must be investigated."

Kamp said Hillman was trying to infer that the Constitutional Educational League was partisan to the Republican party.

"As a lifelong registered Democrat, I have been trying to prevent Sidney Hillman, the CIO and the Communist party from becoming strong enough to take over my party," he said. "I may have failed."

"As long ago as 1933, I assailed the appointment of radical high administrative positions in the New Deal."

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-397

FBI Once Studied G.O.P., Vets As Subversive, Probers Told

Revelation Made by Democrat 'Trying To Save Party From Hillman, Browder'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

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- The American Bar Association.
- The Republican National Committee.
- The National Association of Manufacturers.
- Knights of Columbus.
- The American Legion Americanization Committee.
- The Veterans of Foreign Wars.

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...in a report of a fourth...
...for President Roosevelt...
...The 44-year-old witness...
...to disclose to... committee any...
...records... the names of...
...other officials... his organization...
...or of contributors or purchasers...
...of the voluminous literature it...
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...studiously refrains from political...
...activity.

Withholds Information

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"As long ago as 1933, I suggested the appointment of radicals to high administrative positions in the New Deal."

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Coffey
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Harbo
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Mumford
- Mr. Jones
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Nease
- Miss Gandy

1. check this off once.
2. also verify that Kamp in fact mentioned FBI or whether it was gratuitously added by the reporter.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

JKM:CSH

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE:

FROM : D. M. Ladd

September 21, 1944

SUBJECT: JOSEPH P. KAMP,
CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Mumford	
Mr. Jones	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Beahm	
Miss Gandy	

This is in reply to your instructions, contained on the attached clipping from the Washington Times Herald, September 21, 1944, which bears the headline "FBI Once Studied G.O.P., Vets as Subversive, Probers Told." It was noted that the body of the article, however, made no reference to the FBI, merely setting forth that Joseph P. Kamp had testified before the special House Committee investigating election expenditures that "the Department of Justice once began an inquiry into subversive activities" of certain groups, naming particularly the American Bar Association, the Republican National Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Knights of Columbus, the American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

ACTUAL TESTIMONY

We were able today, through a confidential contact, to review the unabridged stenographic transcript of the actual hearing upon which the reference article was based. The transcript of the entire testimony was very voluminous, but the following verbatim extract covers the portion pertinent here:

"Mr. Kamp: All right; I will be specific. The central unit of the un-American Gestapo is the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which works in close harmony with the Department of Justice. It is a private organization. It has no authority to conduct the investigations it conducts. It has prevailed upon the Department of Justice to conduct investigations on its behalf. For example, it turned over to the Department of Justice a list of so-called subversive organizations and prevailed upon the Department of Justice to investigate, or to begin an investigation of those organizations. And on that list turned over by this Anti-Defamation League were such organizations as the American Bar Association, the Republican National Committee, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Knights of Columbus, the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

"Mr. Brown: You mean they were subversive?"

"Mr. Kamp. I mean that organization said that these organizations were subversive and that they prevailed upon the Department of Justice to begin an investigation of these patriotic organizations, on the theory they were subversive.

"Mr. Brown: Well, did the Department of Justice investigate them?"

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

RECORDED & INDEXED

33

71-10-55-398

EX-60

"Mr. Kamp: It began an investigation, and as soon as they began the investigation it was called off when some people higher up found out what was going on.

"Brown: The Department of Justice did not find any of those organizations as being subversive?

"Kamp: No sir, it did not; but it began an investigation at the instance of this un-American Gestapo.

"Brown: Then by the phrase 'un-American Gestapo' you mean just this one organization?

"Kamp: No, I do not; I mean the Anti-Defamation League and the whole network of organizations that it controls, or that it influences. I mean organizations like the ~~Friends of Democracy~~. The Friends of Democracy boasts of the fact that it is in political activity, that it carries on political activity, that it has caused the defeat of candidates for Congress."

An examination was made of the rest of the full transcript and there was no mention made of the FBI.

BACKGROUND

Undoubtedly the reference to the "Department of Justice" in the above testimony referred to the Special War Policies Unit (now the War Division) which was headed by L.M.C. Smith. You will recall that Unit had decided ambitions for expansion and James R. Sharpe, one-time Special Agent of the FBI, who was the Chief of the Foreign Agents Registration Section of that Division, instituted a filing system within his own Unit which included the indexing of all material, apparently as thoroughly as the practice followed by the Bureau. This indexing practice was followed by that Unit until at least the late spring of 1943. At that time a conference was held in the office of Mr. T. D. Quinn, attended by representatives of the various divisions of the Department and a representative of the Bureau. At that time Mr. Quinn stated there was no justification for that type of indexing in the Department and instructed that it be discontinued and that the Bureau be responsible for indexing beyond merely recording cases.

On December 23, 1942 Mr. J. K. Mumford of our Security Division was furnished in strict confidence, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

It is further recalled that about that same time advice was received that "an investigator" from the Department of Justice put in an appearance at the headquarters of the American Legion at Indianapolis, Indiana and asked the American Legion to furnish summaries of any information in its files concerning subversive organizations. The "investigator" was asked for a list of the groups in which the Department had an interest and admitted he had such a list but told the American Legion he had been specifically instructed not to let the list get out of his hands. He was, nevertheless, convinced that he should leave it at the American Legion office long enough to be used to check their indices. The American Legion subsequently contacted our office and advised of the incident, and expressed specific amazement at the fact that they had found the name of their own organization included in the list. The letter containing the facts concerning this incident has not been located, by the Files Division, as yet, but its general content is recalled as outlined here.

CONCLUSION

The above referred to list is in all probability the basis for the testimony offered by Joseph P. Kamp. The list was available in the Special War Policies Unit of the Department of Justice, it was available in the Treasury

Department and in all probability it is in the possession of the American Legion headquarters, since the so-called "investigator" left it in their hands for at least a short time. The "investigator" was undoubtedly a representative of the Special War Policies Unit of the Department of Justice, as you will recall that about that time the Bureau had considerable difficulty with L. M. C. Smith, straightening him out on the fact that the Bureau was the investigative branch of the Department, before he withdrew the many men he had circulating about the country.

The FBI has made no such investigations as are inferred in the article in the Times-Herald.

ACTION

Attached for your approval ^{is} are letters addressed to Mrs. Eleanor Patterson of the Times-Herald ~~and to the Honorable Clinton P. Anderson, Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures.~~

Attachments

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DML:KLW

TO : MR. E. A. TAMM

FROM : MR. LADD

SUBJECT: JOE KAMP

DATE:

Sept. 28, 1944

61-10355-

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. E. A. Tamm	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Coffey	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Carson	_____
Mr. Hendon	_____
Mr. Mumford	_____
Mr. Jones	_____
Mr. Quinn Tamm	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Beahm	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Mr. Gus Vanech telephonically advised that the House Committee is desirous of serving a subpoena on Kamp; that a Deputy Marshal from D. C. went up to New York to contact the Marshal (Mulcahy) there yesterday but they were unable to locate Kamp; that Mr. McGranery requested that if we get a line on Kamp to notify the Marshal in New York without, of course, involving the FBI.

EX-66

RECORDED

61-10355-399

I told Mr. Vanech that we won't get into the picture at all; that if we can spot Kamp we will notify the Marshal. I added that I would let him know what we find out.

55 OCT 7 1944

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

JSG:vj

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: September 27, 1944

FROM : D. M. Ladd

SUBJECT: JOSEPH PETER KAMP
THE CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Coffey	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Mumford	✓
Mr. Jones	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Beahm	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

There is attached, for your approval, a reply to the Attorney General's memorandum of September 22, 1944 to Mr. James P. McGranery, a copy of which was furnished to you, in which Mr. Biddle inquires concerning Kamp's allegations that the Department of Justice has investigated various American institutions as subversive.

Referral/Consult

The following additional background is set out for your information:

Mr. Homer Chaillaux directed a letter to Mr. Bisgyer under date of August 12, 1942 in which he set forth information in the files of the American Legion concerning a number of the organizations on Bisgyer's list. Mr. Chaillaux also pointedly mentioned the loyalty of the American Legion Auxiliary, as well as other obviously patriotic organizations such as the Reserve Officers Association, the Catholic Boy Scouts and the Sons of the American Revolution.

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

RECORDED


INDEXED

EX-12

58 OCT 7 1944

In addition to the above action, Mr. Chaillaux also got in touch with Congressman Bertrand W. Gerhart of California informing him of the situation. On August 13, 1942 Mr. Gerhart wrote to Mr. Chaillaux informing him that the former had contacted Mr. Marvin McIntyre on August 11, 1942 with the result that the Attorney General was telephonically contacted by Mr. McIntyre and brought to task in no uncertain terms for the "carelessness, lack of judgment, and indiscretion of Bisgyer". Mr. Gerhart stated that Mr. McIntyre made a "pointed suggestion" that the Attorney General immediately come to the White House for further discussion of the matter. A copy of Mr. Gerhart's letter was furnished to Mr. Pennington by Mr. Chaillaux.

Although the Bureau has no verification of the fact, it was reported by Mr. Chaillaux that as a result of Mr. McIntyre's conversation with the Attorney General, Bisgyer was either dismissed or his resignation was accepted. Mr. Chaillaux stated that later, representatives of the Anti-Defamation League contacted him and accused him of being responsible for Bisgyer's loss of his job.



Attachment

19583

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DML:PC

TO :

MR. E. A. TAMM

DATE:

FROM :

D. M. LADD

September 28, 1944
8:20 PM

SUBJECT:

JOE KAMP

In connection with the desire of Congressman Clint Anderson, who is head of the Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, to have Joe Kamp subpoenaed, I telephonically contacted ASAC Donegan of the New York Office and advised that the Department has ordered the Marshal from Washington to serve the subpoena; that the Marshal from Washington has left for New York and will contact the Marshal's Office there. I told Donegan that the Department has requested that our New York Office furnish the Marshal with any available addresses and to assist the Marshal in any way possible without going into it in the open.

9/29/44
9:00 AM

Donegan called back at this time with reference to my call and advised that the Marshal already had all of their available addresses; that they were checked but Kamp was not found. Donegan added that they have nothing else except an informant; that this informant is to advise them sometime this morning if he knows where Kamp is and this information will then be passed on to the Marshal. Donegan inquired if anything further should be done in the event the informant does not know the whereabouts of Kamp and I told him no.

RECORDED

11-10355-401

311

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

New Haven, Connecticut
October 12, 1944

6/11
6/11
fjw:onp
101-7

Director, FBI

Re: Publication "Vote CIO and Get a
Soviet America," by JOSEPH P. KAMP

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a publication
entitled "Vote CIO and Get a Soviet America," by Joseph P. Kamp,
which is published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc.,
342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. It is felt that the Bureau
may find this publication of interest.

Very truly yours,

Robert F. Gleason
Robert F. Gleason,
Special Agent in Charge.

cc attached
100-90
enclosure.

INDEXED IN
PUBLICATION
FILES

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&
INDEXED

EX-18

61-10355-402

OCT 12 1944



see on the [unclear]
11/11/44
pg
53 NOV 11 1944 74

ENCLOSURE

pamphlet removed and sent to
New Haven Field Office 2-7-45-
See serial 410 for duplicate-
Jsg



61-10355-408

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: October 18, 1944

FROM : Mr. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Mr. R. L. Vaniman, Vice President of the Fruehauf Trailer Company, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, called at my office by reference from Dr. Julius Klein. He pointed out that a friend of his had made contributions to the 'Constitutional Educational League, and that he wanted to get some information on this organization so that he might advise his friend more specifically. Mr. Vaniman stated that he had told his friend that it was a good organization to stay away from.

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Coffey _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Mumford _____
 Mr. Jones _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Beahr _____
 Miss Gandy _____

I told Vaniman that his advice was judicious and sound, that the contents of our files were confidential and that we could not reveal to him our information. He wondered whether this organization was anti-semitic. I told him that I had seen some of their literature which would speak for itself. He wondered about Dr. Rumley. I told him of the Rumley conviction in part.

He manifested considerable interest in the Bureau. I invited him to make a tour of inspection. He will contact us at a later date when he has more time.

He was in the automotive department of WPB for two years, has traveled in Russia, France and throughout Europe. He was very anti-communist in his sentiments.

HANDLED BY
 [Signature]

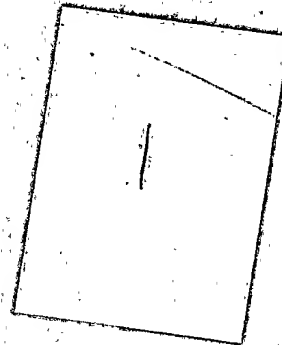
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 154

101-105-403
 OCT 20 1944
 [Signature]

NOV 3 1944

ENCLOSURE

61-10355



61-10355-403

ENCLOSURE

*Constitutional
Educational
League*

R. L. VANIMAN

*Dr. Julius
Klein*

VICE PRESIDENT
FRUEHAUF TRAILER COMPANY
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

JSG:vj
11-8-44

NOV 10 1944

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61-10355-404

The Attorney General

John Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED
JOSEPH PETER KAMP

As you know, the captioned organization under the tutelage of Joseph Peter Kamp, with whose activities you are familiar, has been engaged in the publication and distribution of a large volume of literature, most of which is anti-Administration. A pamphlet entitled "Vote CIO.....And Get a Soviet America" and authored by Kamp has recently been disseminated.

This pamphlet is concerned mainly with the activities of Sidney Hillman and the CIO Political Action Committee. Kamp accuses Hillman of being a pawn of Communist interests in the United States and asserts that the Communists plan to control America if President Roosevelt is elected to another term by "consolidating left wing gains of the past twelve years". The following references to you in the pamphlet are set forth as of possible interest.

In describing the formation of the Political Action Committee Kamp states that the question was raised by Senator Joseph Ball of Minnesota as to the possibility that the CIO was violating the Smith-Connally Act by contributing to campaign expenditures. Kamp alleges in this connection that:

"The 'packed' Congressional probes got nowhere fast. Attorney General Francis Biddle, who once wrote poetry for an official Communist publication partly owned by his wife, and edited by Robert Minor, until recently General Secretary of the Communist Party, could find no violation of law. In a letter to Representative Howard Smith, author of the law, Biddle gave PAC a clean bill of health".

Congressman Smith is stated to have written a letter to the Department of Justice disagreeing with its interpretation of the Smith-Connally Act as applied to the Political Action Committee. The pamphlet contains the following quotation said to have been taken from this letter:

"The only result that I can see of the Department's investigation is that the accused was given three months in which to persuade the Department of Justice that it was not guilty. In three minutes I could have given your investigators enough evidence to justify presentation of the case to a grand jury, but no investigator from your Department evinced the slightest interest".

Kamp then states, "Mr. Biddle has not yet answered Representative Smith's letter", but, "In the meantime, smarter lawyers than Attorney General Biddle advised Hillman and Company to 'reorganize' within the law".

SENT FROM D. C.
TIME 12:20pm
DATE 11-10-44
BY [Signature]

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

In discussing the above matter Kamp digresses to state:

"If the records of the Department of Justice are still intact, they will show that Attorney General Biddle was a financial contributor to the Communist movement in the early 20's".

Kamp further interprets remarks which you are stated to have made during a meeting with the Cosmos Club in March, 1942, as showing your "attitude and sympathies". He states that the meeting was sponsored by the New Republic, a weekly magazine described as an "advocate of revolutionary socialism". The remarks attributed to you are as follows:

"The political fight for liberalism must be carried on regardless of the war".

"Hold the political trench".

"The New Deal is not just a group of theorists or liberals.....it is a POLITICAL PARTY tied up with the labor movement under an able political leader."

November 4, 1944

VOTE FOR CIO.....AND GET A SOVIET AMERICA

By Joseph P. Kamp

This pamphlet, which is distributed by the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated, 342 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, is divided into several parts and for the purpose of clarity each section will be summarized as a separate entity.

PART I

CIO Convention Czar

In this section the claim is made that Sidney Hillman whose real name, according to Kamp, is Schmuell Gilman, controlled the Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1944, with Earl Browder as the power behind the throne. Kamp asserts that the Communist Political Association's and Hillman's support of President Roosevelt for a fourth term is merely a means to an end. The Communists plan to control America if Roosevelt wins by "consolidating left wing gains of the past twelve years".

The pamphlet claims that Hillman's CIO actually selected the Vice Presidential nominee but made a pretense of backing Wallace in order to throw off its opponents. In support of this statement, Kamp describes a purported meeting between Truman and Hillman during the Chicago convention, at which time Hillman is alleged to have told Truman that Labor would accept him as Vice Presidential candidate. Kamp states that the CIO took over the Democratic Party in 1944 and Sidney Hillman plans to take over the country in November.

PART II

Mid-Stream Trojan Horse

Kamp makes the assertion that the country is aboard a Trojan Horse with Browder as the "forepart" and Hillman as the rear half.

He describes Hillman's background in Russia and rise from apprentice pants cutter to President of Amalgamated Clothing Workers in this country. Hillman is tied in with Russian and American Communists as far back as 1921, and several instances are cited wherein he is alleged to have furnished funds to the Soviet Union, ostensibly for relief purposes.

This individual is also accused of introducing terrorism into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union when he felt his power fading.

After accusing Hillman of various nefarious schemes to gain power, including resorting to gangsterism, having connections with Louis "Lepke" Buchalter, etc., Kamp concludes that he succeeded in becoming the dominant

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61-10355-404

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

JSG:vj

TO : MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: November 6, 1944

FROM : J. C. Strickland

SUBJECT: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INCORPORATED
JOSEPH PETER KAMP
REGISTRATION ACT

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☒
Mr. Clegg ☒
Mr. Coffey ☐
Mr. Glavin ☐
Mr. Ladd ☐
Mr. Nichols ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tracy ☐
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Carson ☐
Mr. Hendon ☐
Mr. Mumford ☐
Mr. Jones ☐
Mr. Quinn Tamm ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Mr. Nease ☐
Miss Beahm ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

There is attached, for your information, a review of a recent pamphlet published by the captioned group entitled "Vote CIO.....And Get a Soviet America".

Attachment

RECORDED

HANDLED BY
FBI

INDEXED

161-10355-404

NOV 15 1944

factor in CIO while taking his own orders from the Communists. Kamp quotes from a purported statement of Senator James Eastland of Mississippi to the Senate on June 19, 1944, that "Sidney Hillman is just as much a Communist as Stalin himself.

PART III

Moscow-PAC Political Axis

This portion of the pamphlet begins with a statement purportedly attributed by Dr. William A. Wirt to Lawrence Todd, Washington correspondent of the TASS News Agency in 1934:

"We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong he cannot turn back from it.

"We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin."

Kamp traces the growth of Communism in the United States from 1919 to the time when it gained control, according to the pamphlet, of the CIO.

It is stated that plans for a fourth term were formulated in 1942 when White House strategists suggested to Hillman that he "mobilize 'liberals and labor'" for this purpose.

Kamp then describes the formation of the Political Action Committee under "Communist backing". He names nine individuals whom he calls Communists and who were allegedly former government officials who resigned to work for the PAC.

Attorney General Biddle, according to Kamp, gave the PAC a "clean bill of health" in spite of the Smith-Connally Act prohibiting political expenditures. In writing of Mr. Biddle, Kamp makes the following allegation: "If the records of the Department of Justice are still intact, they will show that Attorney General Biddle was a financial contributor to the Communist movement in the early 20's". Although the Attorney General declared the PAC legal, Kamp states that a new organization, the National Citizen's Political Action Committee, was organized for the purpose of being strictly within the law. The author describes this organization's fund raising efforts as nothing more than a shake-down of CIO members and their employers.

Among the National Committee members mentioned by Kamp are several individuals presently under investigation by the Bureau for Communist activities including Oscar Lange, Louis Adamic and Leo Krzycki.

PART IV

PAC in Action

Under this heading Kamp cites various instances of pressure being placed on CIO unions and members to get them to campaign for President Roosevelt and Congressman Vito Marcantonio. In some cases union leaders who are Republicans are alleged to have been dismissed. In other cases union members resigned rather than be forced to "ring doorbells".

Kamp also describes the campaign methods of the PAC, including the use of radio facilities, distribution of thousands of pamphlets and posters, the door-to-door canvassing during which housewives are urged to use their purchasing power to force retail store owners to vote the CIO fourth term ticket.

The PAC has also been trying to gain control of the serviceman's vote, says Kamp, who adds: "As recently as August, 1944 the FBI warned that the Reds in the United States have set into motion a definite plan for gaining control of all Army and Navy veteran groups".

"The PAC will destroy the United States as a republic of free men unless the PAC is destroyed", is the conclusion reached by the author.

PART V

Vote for a Soviet America

The following quotations are taken from this section of the pamphlet:

"....PAC was deliberately designed as the most gigantic pressure group in the history of American politics through which both the Democratic and Republican parties would be absorbed into a single collectivist 'Workers Party' which, as in Soviet Russia, would take over all functions of government."

"....PAC's 1944 platform is a specific blueprint calling for a planned economy, federally controlled".

Kamp apparently thinks that the ultimate aim of the CIO is to force this country into revolution at which time the Communists will take complete charge.

In an epilogue entitled "What YOU Can do About it!", Kamp suggests that copies of his pamphlet be distributed to the associates of the reader and that contributions be made in support of the Constitutional Educational League. The purpose of this is stated to be in order to arouse and mobilize public opinion "to stop PAC and purge the public-payroll of all enemies of Constitutional government".

7
ANONYMOUS CONTRIBUTION
HELP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

Joseph P. Kamp

11/12/44

Gentlemen:
After listening to
Walter Winchell & reading
the article, "Dangerous American"
#1 Joseph P. Kamp
I as a citizen of these
United States, would
want to see an indictment
against Joseph P. Kamp
whose office is located at
342 Madison Ave.
N.Y.C.
A native honorably citizen
of Brooklyn, N.Y. U.S.A.

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Nov 21 1944

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Mr. E. Hoover's
attention

★ ★ The first of a series of profiles on.

DANGEROUS AMERICANS

1 - Joseph P. Kamp

Albert E. Kahn

JOSEPH P. KAMP looks older than his forty-four years. His thinning hair is turning grey, his eyes are lackluster, and his pallid face wears a tired, harried expression. But looks are deceiving. Kamp is a man of most unusual energy. In one week he turns out more disruptive and defeatist propaganda than the average fascist propagandist produces in a year. Official Nazi propaganda agencies in Germany, with excellent reason, have repeatedly recommended Kamp's works as essential reading for all Nazi sympathizers in the United States.

Kamp is the Director of an organization called the Constitutional Educational League. The name is somewhat euphemistic. In 1937, the La Follette Senate Committee investigated the activities of the League. When subpoenaed, Kamp went on an "auto trip" taking with him all the files and records of the League. The Secretary-Treasurer of the Constitutional Educational League, Chester A. Hanson, appeared at the La Follette hearings in Washington. After Hanson's interrogation, Senator Elbert D. Thomas of Utah caustically remarked: "I can judge quite correctly from what you say that the word constitutional does not have any meaning in your Constitutional

Educational League . . . and the word educational has no meaning."

The Constitutional Educational League specializes in spreading propaganda designed to undermine confidence in the United States' war leadership, foment suspicion against America's allies, and stimulate class and racial antagonisms in the United States. In July 1942 the League was named in a Federal indictment as an agency which had been used in a plot to "impair and influence the loyalty, morale and discipline of the military and naval forces of the United States."

A number of Kamp's best friends and close associates are today on trial in Washington charged with participating in a Nazi conspiracy against the United States. But to the time of this writing, Kamp himself has managed to remain outside the pale of the law.

Joseph P. Kamp was born in Yonkers, New York, on May 3, 1900,

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the son of a tailor who shortly before had come to America from Germany. After six months' high school education, Kamp started his busi-

HEADER'S SCOPE

ness career as a process server. He soon graduated into the profession of strike-breaking. Later he tried his hand at pulp-writing without much success. Not until Hitler came to power in Germany did Kamp discover his real milieu.

In the summer of 1933 Joseph Kamp suddenly became publisher and editor of a pro-fascist magazine called *The Awakener*. Listed on the magazine editorial board along with Kamp were: Lawrence Dennis, self-styled "theoretician" of American fascism; later indicted by the Department of Justice on charges of taking part in a Nazi conspiracy; and Harold Lord Varney, a pro-Mussolini propagandist in New York City. Soon after founding *The Awakener*, Kamp opened a savings account in New York at the Banca Commerciale Italiana.

In 1937 *The Awakener* discontinued publication. A letter from Kamp to one of his followers revealed that the work of the pro-fascist publication would be carried on by the Constitutional Educational League. "*The Awakener* is dead, but the work is being carried on," Kamp wrote, "and under separate cover you will receive . . . recent booklets and pamphlets of the Constitutional Educational League."

There was a considerable demand for the sensational anti-Administration, anti-labor and anti-Semitic propaganda material which began to pour out of the League's offices in New York City, New Haven, Connecticut, and Madison, Wisconsin. The League's books, pamphlets and leaflets, many of them written by

Kamp himself, were soon being distributed throughout the country by the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, the Crusaders for Americanism and other fifth column organizations. The printings ran into large numbers. According to Kamp, he disposed of 2,200,000 copies of one booklet entitled *Join the CIO — and help build a SOVIET AMERICA*. Between 1937 and 1940, Kamp claims, he distributed a total of 10,000,000 pieces of literature.

All of this, of course, cost money, especially since the propaganda pieces, although marked at various prices, were usually distributed free. To raise funds to support this propaganda activity and to meet his own personal needs, Kamp sent his private solicitors to the offices of reactionary business men, ardent pro-fascists and rabid isolationists throughout the country. The solicitors, carefully trained in methods of high-pressure salesmanship by Kamp himself, brought in handsome sums.

There were other sources of funds for such propaganda work. One of Kamp's closest collaborators on the Constitutional Educational League was A. Cloyd Gill, a notorious anti-Semitic propagandist. In August 1936, Gill helped arrange a national conference at Asheville, North Carolina, attended by leading American anti-Semites and pro-Nazi propagandists. Following this conference an intimate working relationship developed between Gill and Kamp. On June 17, 1938, Gill dispatched one of his solicitors on a very special fund-raising mission. Here is how this solicitor subsequently de-

scribed his assignment in an affidavit now in possession of the author of this article:

"On June 16th I was instructed to visit the offices of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce at 500 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and contact a Mr. T. Ono for the purpose of obtaining a \$600.00 subscription. When I questioned Mr. Gill as to the amount of the subscription, he stated that he knew Mr. Ono and that the latter would understand. . . . Gill informed me . . . that the price would be the usual subscription fee for Mr. Ono, to wit, \$600.00. Gill instructed me to proceed to the office of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and collect \$600.00. This I did and received the payment in the form of sixty \$10.00 bills. . . . I do not know how much Kamp received of the monies paid to Gill by Ono, but I do know that he knew of the transactions and acted as if he were part and parcel of the deal. . . . Similar transactions with foreign governments . . . took place with the German Library of Information, as well as the Italian Library of Information."

The relationship between Kamp and Gill came to an abrupt conclusion in the spring of 1943. Early in the morning, on April 7, Gill was found dead in the offices of the Constitutional Education League. According to the coroner, he had died from "natural causes". . . .

America's entry into the war in no way interrupted Kamp's propaganda activities. From Pearl Harbor up until today he has continued to

flood the country with his disruptive and defeatist publications. At the moment, he is concentrating on propaganda virulently attacking Franklin Delano Roosevelt. While many fifth columnists have been imprisoned or indicted by the Department of Justice, Kamp, the fascist propagandist, has prospered. His Congressional sympathizers may have taken him under their protective wing.

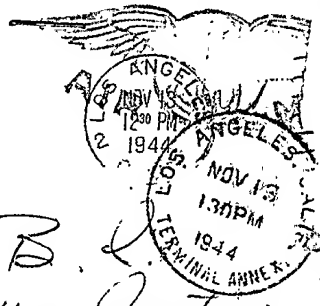
Representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan has been incorporating Kamp's propaganda into the Congressional Record. Representative Paul Shafer, also of Michigan, has publicly endorsed Kamp's writings. But the closest relationship of all exists between Kamp and Congressman Martin Dies of Texas.

In 1933, Congressman Dies was chosen by Kamp to receive the "Americanism Award" of the Constitutional Educational League. Later, Kamp urged "patriots" to withhold information from J. Edgar Hoover and to give it, instead, to Martin Dies or to himself. Kamp's former personal secretary, Hazel Hoffman, has been employed by Dies as a "special investigator." Material collected by the Dies Committee has been regularly placed at the disposal of the Constitutional Educational League. In October, 1943, Kamp observed: "Martin Dies and I have been playing ball for years."

At present, Kamp is making his propaganda headquarters in an expensive suite of offices at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City. A visit by FBI agents to this address is recommended.

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KINGSBACHER-MURPHY CO.
683 SANTA FE AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.



F. B. I.
Dept. of Justice
Washington
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④ Constitutional Educational League, Inc.
see number

★ The first of a series of profiles on

DANGEROUS AMERICANS

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Albert E. Kahn

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ENCLOSURE

ness career as a process server. He soon graduated into the profession of strike-breaking. Later he tried his hand at pulp-writing without much success. Not until Hitler came to power in Germany did Kamp discover his real milieu.

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SCOPE ON PEOPLE

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ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

MR. D. M. LADD

DATE: November 4, 1944

FROM: J. O. Strickland

19578

SUBJECT:

Attached for your information is a review of a typewritten article, "The Smear Offensive - a Report", photostatic copies of which were obtained by the Bureau. Although this article is unsigned, it would appear to be the work of Joseph Peter Kamp, vice-chairman of the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated. This conclusion is reached for the following, among other, reasons:

1. The title of the article is similar to the phraseology used in "Un-American Gestapo" which Kamp calls the "Smear Bund".
2. A large part of the report is taken up in tearing down John Roy Carlson's "Undercover", which the author concluded is Communist inspired. The main reasons for this conclusion are the same as those set forth in "Un-American Gestapo", the unpublished manuscript of which has been previously obtained and reviewed.
3. Throughout the article there are favorable references to the Dies Committee which has for some time been a "pet" of Kamp's.
4. The same organizations are discussed and declared to be Communist controlled as in other Kamp pamphlets, including the "Anti-Defamation League", "Friends of Democracy", and the "Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League".
5. The entire article, including the choice of words and method of presenting the subject matter, is written in a vein strikingly like that used by Kamp.

Attachment

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Some of these disgraceful pieces were gotten out by him and circulated outside America First meetings by him and others and then the America First Committee, which had no control over literature on the sidewalks, was smeared by this gang because of the presence of these disgraceful sheets.

* * * * *

November 4, 1944

THE SMEAR OFFENSIVE - A REPORT

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This unsigned article, which is apparently intended as a report to some undesignated individual or group, has as its stated intention the offering of proof that the publication of "Undercover" by John Roy Carlson, is an "incident in an extensive.....program" to exploit the war situation "in order to divide and confuse the American people, to deepen and intensify the revolutionary elements present in the country", and "to silence all opposition to the foreign policy of the present administration".

The method of the campaign, according to the author, is, by vilification and slander, to destroy the reputations of all persons opposed to the policies of the agencies involved. He lists the following groups as collaborating in the program:

1. The American Communist Party
2. The Friends of Democracy, Incorporated
3. The Anti-Defamation League
4. The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League
5. New Deal Agencies

The entire article is devoted to proving the above point and considerable space is given to attempting to show that "Undercover" was Communist inspired and published under the auspices of the Friends of Democracy, formed by Leon M. Birkhead. The career of Carlson, whose real name is Avedis Boghos Derounian, is covered in detail in an effort to show his Communistic background and influence. In discussing various allegedly Communist front groups, the report returns consistently to "Undercover", referring to it as the "epitome" of the methods used by the "smearers".

Under a subheading, "Method", the author states that the entire plan is built around the words "Fascism" and "Nazism"; anyone who disagrees with the "Smear Bund" is a Nazi or a Fascist. If direct charges cannot be made against an individual he is associated, by innuendo, with known subversives, thus transferring the stigma to the object of the attack. Several examples of this technique are mentioned.

The objective is stated to be to set the Protestant against the Catholic, the Catholic against the Protestant, both against the Jews, white against Negro, employer against employee, etc., thus creating disunity and opening the door for Communist control of the United States.

The well-known Communist infiltration system is cited and two examples of this are given. One of these is "The Protestant", edited by Kenneth Leslie, which is said to be controlled by the Communists while ostensibly acting as a medium for religious expression. Various articles in "The Protestant" are said to be contributed by known Communists, including Hewlitt

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Johnson, "The Dean of Canterbury". In spite of the Dies Committee charge that over 1100 Communists were on the Government payroll, "The Protestant" is alleged to have carried an article dated Washington, October 20, to the effect that more than 1,000 Protestant Bishops and clergymen, in appealing to President Roosevelt for all out aid to Russia, stated that "not one member of any branch of our Government is a Communist". This periodical has also been endorsed by Eleanor Roosevelt in her column, "My Day", according to "The Smear Offensive".

The Bureau files reflect that an active investigation is being conducted of Kenneth Leslie who is listed as a key figure in the Communist Political Association. "The Protestant" does follow the Communist line according to information received.

The other example of Communist infiltration cited is "New Currents", a Jewish monthly which began publication in 1943. The author states that this paper has the same effect among the Jews as "The Protestant" among Christians, carrying on the same pro-Russian tactics and vilification of Americans who "do not fall in with the foreign policy of the administration". As an example of this latter policy there is a quotation from an article said to have appeared in "New Currents" concerning former Detroit SAC John Bugas. This article is quoted below:

"If an officer were to desert the U.S. Military Intelligence and join the forces of the Axis, he'd be considered a traitor. If he were caught he'd be shot. Well in September 1939, President Roosevelt issued a directive placing the FBI in charge of all counter-espionage and counter-sabotage work in the United States. As far as I'm concerned, the Ford Motor Company is nothing more than an agency of the enemy. Draw your own conclusions about John Bugas."

"New Currents" is the subject of a closed Bureau investigation in which it was verified that this periodical is published by the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists, Incorporated, that it follows the Communist Political Association line and is a Communist front.

In inquiring as to the source of funds of the above publication, the author suggests that they might come from the Sound View Foundation which is stated to be "an agency through which funds are piped to various Communist dominated organizations" such as the New Masses, Daily Worker, Pueblos Hispanos, National Negro Conference, International Labor Defense, Farm Research, and others. The author says, "This corporation, I believe, is being supplied with funds by the Soviet Government".

According to the files of the Bureau, the Sound View Foundation is run by Alfred H. Hirsch, Robert W. Dunn and Joseph R. Brodsky. Its original funds came from an endowment given by Hirsch and it was incorporated to "promote

well-being of mankind". Actually it was formed as a dummy corporation to finance propaganda and publications of the CPA in the United States. Donations have been made to numerous Communist groups, including those mentioned above. No indications of funds having been received from Russia have been obtained but investigation is continuing for this purpose.

Considerable space is devoted to a discussion of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League which is stated to operate a private Gestapo and to be one of the most active agencies in the "field of character assassination". The assertion is made that this group sponsored the "Smear Book", "I Find Treason" by Colonel Richard Rollins whose real name is Isidore Rothberg.

The activities of Dorothy Waring, investigator for the League, are briefly outlined and mention is made of the fact that the Federal Bureau of Investigation denied that she has ever been employed by us. This is, of course, true.

The Anti-Defamation League is also discussed, the author stating that this group was fully justified in trying to combat the growing anti-Semitism in the United States which has now gone so far that it is a terrorist organization, having built up a dossier on every person who ever made an anti-Jewish remark. The information gathered is being used, according to the report, for the purpose of "smearing" all who oppose the ideas of the League and in order to gain more data wires are tapped, private premises are illegally entered, and papers are subsidized for defamatory purposes.

The Anti-Defamation League is accused of supplying the data to William Power Maloney on which the first sedition indictment was based. It was asserted in addition, that supplemental investigation was directed by the Anti-Defamation League "acting inside the Department of Justice".

Sanford Griffith, subject of a closed Registration Act investigation, is listed among those contacted by Mr. Maloney. Griffith, the report states, also handled a "smear campaign" against Standard Oil of New Jersey which lasted from December 1941 through July 1942, when this Company was accused of having a connection with I. G. Farbenindustrie of Germany. The Department of Justice is asserted to have subpoenaed highly confidential data from the files of Standard Oil which Howard G. Calhoun, Special Attorney in the Anti-Trust Division, turned over to Griffith for use against Standard Oil.

Albert Kahn, co-author with Michael Sayers, of "Sabotage", is said to have acknowledged that this book was compiled largely from the files of the Anti-Defamation League.

A subheading entitled "Friends of Democracy" contains a diatribe against this group which is stated to engage in "character assassination on an extensive scale". Rex Stout, president of the organization, comes in for his share of denunciations, the author attempting to show by mention of

Communist fronts with which Stout is or has been connected, that he is a strong advocate of this form of government. The report states that the Friends of Democracy work by marking a man for "destruction". The plan for doing this is called a "project", and a memorandum by Roy Tozier, research director, dated November 29, 1941, entitled "Report on the Status of the Lindbergh Project" is quoted in full. This memorandum indicates that the group works by preparing "documented pamphlets" which are distributed to key people. These in turn place the material in the hands of newspapers, magazines, schools, churches and factories. The result, according to the memorandum, has been to destroy the faith of the public in such figures as Lindbergh, Father Coughlin and Gerald B. Winrod.

Charles E. ...
Another "project" mentioned is one to "convince Henry Ford that he should take action to stop the Ku Klux Klan from distributing a new edition of his publication 'The International Jew'". It is planned to distribute 50,000 copies of the pamphlet "Henry Ford Must Choose" to Masons, Protestants and outstanding citizens in the United States.

Under the caption "Radio", the report discusses the infiltration by the Communists into this field. A study of this situation is being made by the author who stated that considerable information is being collected by the House Committee investigating the F.C.C. This evidence is alleged to have been "smothered by the Department of Justice by a blow so serious that it ought to be one of the chief subjects of investigation by the Senate."

The F.C.C. is claimed to have put aliens who have definite Communist backgrounds in charge of foreign language radio stations, and to have followed the suggestions of the Anti-Defamation League in refusing licenses to American citizens for reasons which the author considered insufficient.

In summary, "The Smear Offensive" appears to be a treatise on Communist infiltration of various groups in the United States. No conclusion is reached or suggestions given as to how to overcome or control this menace.

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ENCLOSURE



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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 05-13-2013
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THE SMEAR OFFENSIVE

A REPORT

I have made an examination of the circumstances surrounding the publication of the book "Under Cover" by John Roy Carlson, published by E.P. Dutton & Co. The most important conclusion I have reached from this examination is that the book itself is a mere incident in an extensive, highly concentrated and highly financed program, the purpose of which is twofold:

(1) To exploit the war situation in order to divide and confuse the American people to deepen and intensify the revolutionary elements present in the country, and (2) to silence all opposition to the foreign policy of the present administration. The importance of this fact lies in this, that the agencies engaged in this program have organized and carried on a ruthless campaign of vilification and slander deliberately to destroy the reputations of all persons opposing their policies and with a view to intimidating them and any others who might be disposed to follow them.

The situation out of which this grows and the forces engaged in it cannot be described in simple terms. Their objectives are not all the same. But they collaborate because each agency sees the attainment of its objectives promoted by collaboration with the other agencies involved in this program. The groups collaborating in the program are:

1. - The American Communist Party
2. - The Friends of Democracy, Inc.
3. - The Anti-Defamation League
4. - The Non-Sectarian anti-Nazi League
5. - New Deal Agencies

The book "Under Cover" was written, prepared and published under the auspices and sponsorship of the Friends of Democracy, headed by Leon M. Birkhead. Its author is a young Armenian immigrant who signs himself John Roy Carlson. He, however, is not important in the matter. Whoever actually wrote the book - and probably he did - is not important. The important thing is the design and techniques employed in the book. The book has come to the front because of the enormous success in its circulation and has therefore received a degree of attention from those who feel outraged by it out of proportion to its single importance. Actually all of the important material in this book has been publicized already many times in newspapers, magazines, lectures and radio talks, as well as in two other books, one called "Sabotage" and the other "I Find Treason". The book "Under Cover" has had its wide circulation because the war effort has made a singularly fertile soil in which to propagate its message and thus the conspirators can be bolder.

I - METHOD

We must understand we are in the presence of a quite new technique in character assassination.

Direct charges of public malfeasance are not new in American politics. But this new art of vilification operates (a) on the private lives of men in a highly organized way and (b) by smears not by direct charge, but by innuendo. It may be called the "splash" method. A Congressman who has done nothing disreputable himself can be covered with odium by merely mentioning his name frequently in connection with someone who has. This becomes all the more deadly when the accusation thus obliquely leveled at him has to do, not so much with overt acts, as with opinion - accusing him of holding treasonable opinions.

The whole operation is built around the use of the words "fascism" and "nazism". The plan is to denounce everyone who disagrees with the Smear Bund as "Nazi" or "Fascist". If a man is against America's entry into the war he is following the Nazi line. If he is opposed to America guaranteeing a Jewish State in Palestine he is anti-semitic, and anti-semitism is the same as fascism. If a man opposes Roosevelt's foreign policy, then he is a Nazi. If he favors a limitation on immigration, he is anti-semitic and whoever is anti-semitic is a fascist. To take an actual example, John B. Trevor has long been an advocate of limitation on immigration and was the author of the present quota system. Congress adopted that system and there are not a handful of congressmen who would vote against

it now. But because this limits immigration of Jews - as well as Italian fascists and Russian communists and people of all religions - he is denounced as anti-semitic. Being anti-semitic he is necessarily fascist. This miserable lie, repeated endlessly in a number of magazines and papers, etc., soon gets believed. After that, not only is Trevor a Nazi- and must be dismissed as a native enemy - but anybody who knows him or reads a speech by him or writes him a letter is also anti-semitic and, of course, Nazi.

Pelley, the Silver Shirt leader, is a bad egg and is now in jail. To destroy any other man it is merely necessary to say he is a follower of Pelley although he may have perhaps met the man but once. Even that is not necessary. One well-known Northwestern minister is smeared as a Nazi because he "is a follower of Pelley" and "attended a Pelley meeting", although he never saw Pelley in his life or ever attended such a meeting.

Max Lerner, a fellow-traveller columnist of PM, in a radio talk, having nothing tangible to hang on Senator Wheeler, makes this statement: "Now personally I have not the slightest doubt that what if he (Carlson) had been able to hear all that Senator Wheeler said during that period, you'd see a lot more of Wheeler in that book". There is something diabolically cunning in this. There is no direct charge, hence no libel. But

there is the implication half uttered by crying aloud that "if" we could look into Wheeler's mind we would see he is as much a fascist as the others named in the book.

The book "Under Cover" is important as a perfect example of how this viscious weapon is worked. In this book a number of alleged seditious organizations are named. Actually only a few are of any importance and then only minor importance - the German American Bund, the Christian Mobilizers, Pelley's Silver Shirts, The National Workers League. As a result of all this effort some 33 persons are indicted. Of these about seven or eight are dismissed. Of the balance the only serious ones have already been indicted and convicted and are in jail. The remainder are pure crackpots with no following and no importance, save perhaps Joe McWilliams, who never had much following, and who was once committed to Bellevue for observation as a psychopathic case. Some of them are cheap, penniless, panhandlers, living in squalor and having no influence whatever.

But all these people - big and little - are important to these smear goons. This is because the story of their seditions and follies is used merely to intertwine around the names of senators, congressmen, public men of the highest character and standing in the community. By telling for the twentieth time of the subversive nonsense of some back-alley conspirator and then mentioning that his bedroom mantle was littered

with speeches of Wheeler, Nye, etc., these senators are smeared - and that is the purpose of the book. The book was not written to expose people already many times exposed and even in jail, but to splash their seditious and subversive odium over the names of those men in public life who oppose the objectives of the smearers.

One of the chief objectives is to create disunity. This country stands in the presence of one of the most deadly and sinister evils that has ever been imported into it from the revolutionary arsenal of Eastern Europe. The main purpose is to set Protestant against Catholic, Catholic against Protestant and both against Jews and the Jews against all, to provoke social war between white man and negro, between employer and employee, while at the same time paralyzing all opposition to this diabolical being, they know it is only a question of time when Communism will succeed that.

In looking for their activities we must look, not for the Communist label, but for high-sounding names about "Democracy", "Peace", etc. - the American League Against War and Fascism, the Committee for Democratic Action, the American Youth Congress and so on. Otto Knusunen, member of the Secretariat of the Communist Internationale, said: "We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party, so to speak, smaller organizations working actually under the existence of our Party."

The program is simple. They seek out every irritation in our society - irritations arising out of minority demands, racial, political, religious wrongs. They bring into existence organizations bearing respectable names, championing reputable causes, draw into them large numbers of their bourgeois dupes and then, holding the management in their hands, proceed to work not for the correction of the evils they denounce but rather to exacerbate these evils, to rub sand in the wounds, to spread and intensify discontent and division among the people. Thus war here has a two-fold object: (1) to aid Russia to victory; (2) to plunge America into crisis. And so the Communists, through numerous organizations, have done all in their power to inflame four groups: (1) the Jews; (2) Negroes; (3) Youth; (4) Labor.

In almost all the smearing, rising to storm proportions, to be noticed here, we must keep in mind constantly that while it is used now to advance the interest of one group and at another time to advance the interest of some other group, generally it is the Communist or his compliant ally, the fellow-traveller, who is organizing and doing the job.

COMMUNIST EXAMPLES

I report here two examples of the procedure outlined above.

1. The Protestant. The Protestant is a monthly magazine issued ostensibly as a journal of peculiar interest to those of the Protestant faith. On the surface this magazine seems to be an authentic religious publication. The editor is Kenneth Leslie and there is a long list of about 55 editorial advisers, including many well-known names among publicists. In addition, the magazine has been able to publish a list of over 1100 sponsors - Protestant ministers from all over the country. Upon examination, however, one finds that the magazine is run by a well-known Communist, Mr. Kenneth Leslie, a rather peculiar figure - as many of these persons are. The magazine from the beginning has followed closely the line of the Communist Party. Numerous articles every month are written not by Protestants, but by Communists and many by Jews, and the magazine spends most of its time (1) propagandizing the aims of Russia and (2) attacking the Catholics. A single issue of this magazine contains an article cabled from London by Hewlett Johnson with an account of the People's Convention held in London in 1941. The People's Convention is the equivalent of the American Peace Mobilization here, which was a leading Communist-front organization in the U.S. There are two book reviews in the issue by Kenneth Leslie, praising the writings of Harry F. Ward and Hewlett Johnson, the two

outstanding Communist clergymen in the world today. The issue contains a glowing account of the life of the late Claude Williams, who was expelled from the Socialist Party in the U.S. because he was a member of the Communist Party. The current issue of the magazine, for March, 1944, has as its leading article "Stalin, Architect of Peace" together with an attack on the Vatican and four articles attacking the Catholics and one on the debt of modern civilization to Judaism.

The peculiar religious views of Leslie, peddled to the people under the well-understood name of "Protestant", may be guessed from the following written by him in the Communist Daily Worker, Nov. 7, 1943:

"If there is a heart of justice in the universe it is beating now in the Red Army. I believe in that heart. I call it God....The religion that will be acknowledged in the Soviet Union will be based on the actual working out in the Community among individuals, economic units and national groups. It will be beautiful...."

Hewlett Johnson, Communist Dea~~n~~ of Canterbury, wrote an apology for Soviet Russia called "Soviet Power". The Communist Party circulated it here extensively. But the Protestant put out an edition which, of course, got circulation that the Communist Party could not give it among non-communist Protestants.

The Dies Committee made charges that over 1100 Communists had infiltrated the payrolls of the government in Washington. A denial from Communists or New Dealers would not be very effective. But a protest went to the press which was printed as follows:

BISHOPS, EDITORS
DENY REDS HOLD
ANY U. S. OFFICE

Washington, Oct. 20 - (UP) - More than 1000 Protestant bishops, clergymen and editors, appealing to President Roosevelt for all-out aid to Russia, declared today that Communist infiltration in this country is exaggerated and "that not one member of any branch of our Government is Communist."

Their petition, in the form of a letter to the President, was made public soon after Chairman Dies (D.-Tex.) of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, had submitted to the Justice Department a list of 1124 alleged Communists, fellow travellers and sympathizers now on the Federal payroll.

The Protestant appeal to Mr. Roosevelt bore the names of such well-known leaders as Bishop Manning, of New York, Bishop Hobson, of Southern Ohio, and Bishop Conkling, of Chicago.

After praising Russian resistance to Germany, the petition said:

"We have been at fault in not ceaselessly opposing the lie with the truth: That by the wildest exaggeration not more than one-tenth of 1 per cent of

our people are Communist; that not one member of any branch of our government is Communist; that anti-semitism is the most hideous of spiritual leprosies, the spore of which is spread by men who have abandoned their humanity; that through it the Jew becomes the scapegoat for apostate Christians' betrayal of their own Christhood...."

Of course these clergymen knew nothing about whether there were Communists in the government or not. This cunning piece was engineered by Kenneth Leslie and the Protestant. The prestige of this organization and publication was enhanced by the following endorsement:

MY DAY by Eleanor Roosevelt

Hyde Park, Sunday - For some time I have been wanting to tell you about various things I have been reading, and this fairly quiet day is a good opportunity.

Perhaps you subscribe to the Protestant Digest. It is not just a Protestant magazine, but it does try to awaken those of us who happen to be Protestants to a realization of our responsibilities and interests in the world. I found it interesting. It is always stimulating to realize that if you belong to a certain religious faith there is a responsibility to make sure your thinking is constantly progressive and that you are a living force, not a static one.

Later, by the way, Mrs. Roosevelt, when she learned more about this publication, withdrew her endorsement.

Where is the money for this coming from? The following letter will partially explain this:

PROTESTANT DIGEST
"Voice of Protestant Thought and Action"
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

December 27, 1939

Dear -----

I am taking the liberty of writing you at this time, to inform you that the undersigned is now connected with The Protestant Digest.

Protestant Digest is the only Protestant organ in the United States that is actively combatting anti-semitism. For the past thirteen months, we have been printing a Digest of articles that in a sensible, sane intelligent manner, combat all forms of intolerance. As a result, we have secured the endorsement of every right-thinking leader of each and every denomination in these United States. I have been fortunate in making an arrangement with the Protestant Digest that enables us to hire a limited number of honest well-appearing, intelligent representatives, among whom I classify you.

I am enclosing a subscription blank, which speaks for itself. The lowest denomination printed

thereon, is \$20.00, but you are not limited in that respect, as we will accept any amount from \$1.00 up, and will pay you a commission of 50% on all monies secured by you.

Many of the better grade of men that formerly worked for me on the American Hebrew, have come with the Protestant Digest, and are more than doubling their weekly earnings. Should you wish to join my sales force, write me immediately to 342 Madison Avenue, which is the campaign headquarters, and I will send you full particulars and material, enabling you to start selling within seven days.

Very truly yours,

SSE:ISA
ENC.

S.S. Eichen
342 Madison Ave.
New York City

You will note the statement in this letter that he, who is running the business end of this thing, is operating on a contract under which he will pay 50 per cent of all money secured to solicitors. Sol Eichen was running the business end of the American Hebrew until he left it to join Kenneth Leslie in the operation of the Protestant, bringing his gang over with him.

Here in this Protestant incident, therefore, is a perfect example of the manner in which over a thousand prominent Protestant clergymen are mobilized by a Communist operator in partnership with a Communist

Jew who was only recently operating the American Hebrew, to carry out the propaganda activities of the Communists in this country and under the name of tolerance to create and intensify religious hates by persistent and ceaseless smear attacks upon the Pope, Catholic bishops and the Catholic religion itself.

There are at least 25 million Catholics in the U.S. whose sons and daughters are furnishing more than their quota in the armed forces. What group can have an interest in stirring up hatred against the Catholics and provoking retaliatory hate by the Catholics? Certainly no decent Protestant or Jewish elements will be interested in this. But without realizing it, perfectly decent men, accepting the protestations of the so-called Protestant magazine that they are engaged in fighting for tolerance, permit their names to be used to give prestige to this infamous intrigue.

Besides circulating the Communist book "Soviet Power" and publishing the Protestant, Kenneth Leslie has formed two other committees - The textbook Commission to Eliminate Anti-Semitic Statements in American Textbooks, and the National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. The object of the first committee is to get textbooks altered to relieve Jews of the guilt of having killed Christ. Leslie's allies in this provocative movement are Joseph Brainin and Johannes Steele, the latter a specialist in the most vitriolic

smearing over the radio, not less virulent than Winchell's. Under the guise of promoting tolerance, these fellow-travellers are busy inflaming the Jews and antagonizing the Christians. In this evil program they succeed in getting the signatures of numerous clergymen and laymen in the name of "tolerance". I attach a reduced reproduction of a full-page ad from the Chicago Sun. These full-page ads, costing many thousands of dollars, were printed in 20 papers in large cities of the country. The New York Times, Jewish owned, refused to print it. If you will examine the advertisement attached you will see that it is designed to stimulate the sense of wrong among Jews and inflame them to aggressive action. Note the illustrations at the bottom of the ad. After this performance, Judge Proskauer, chairman of the American Jewish Committee, publicly deplored the fate of Jews thus exposed to the mercy of their "false friends".

The effect of this committee has been deplorable. It did inflame certain Jewish editors to expressions they would never have used save thus provoked. The promoters of this program well know that it is designed to encourage certain radical elements among Jews to renew the demand for a revision of the Christian Bible. It would be impossible to set in motion a more dangerous movement calculated to ignite the flames of anti-semitism than a demand, such as some of the more radical

Jewish journals and their Christian provocateurs have made lately, that revising the Christian textbooks is not sufficient, that it will do no good as long as Christians continue to use the Christian Bible. And one of these journals has gone so far as to quote what one of the "Christian revisionists" has said, that the gospel of St. John is a "Book of Shame". The dreadful possibilities of such a movement for trouble is seen in this incredible fact, that Dr. George Shuster, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and Dr. John A. Mackay were active members of the Committee to Revise Textbooks and yet were themselves subject to an attack as anti-semitic in the Jewish Spectator because Dr. Shuster in an Anthology of Catholic Verse included an old medieval poem containing a poetical account of the Crucifixion, while Dr. Mackay somewhere had written a sentence which seemed to contain an ingredient of anti-semitism.

2. New Currents, a Jewish Monthly - Here is another magazine which began life in 1943. Ostensibly this is a Jewish publication just as the Protestant is a Christian publication. Actually this magazine is doing the same job among the Jews that the Protestant is supposed to do among the Christians. It is interesting to find that Joseph Brainin, one of the editors of the New Currents, is also one of the editors of the Protestant and that editors of the Jewish monthly are found as frequent contributors to the Protestant.

This magazine keeps up a persistent attack on American citizens and is strongly slanted in the same direction as the Protestant: (1) plugging insistently for the objectives of Russia and (2) making frequent attacks upon Catholics, (3) vilifying Americans who do not fall in with the foreign policy of the Administration. Thus, for instance, when a man who worked for the FBI, named John Bugas, resigned and went to work for Ford, New Currents contained a violent attack upon him and Ford which contains the following:

"If an officer were to desert the U.S. Military Intelligence and join the forces of the Axis, he'd be considered a traitor. If he were caught he'd be shot. Well in September 1939, President Roosevelt issued a directive placing the FBI in charge of all counter-espionage and counter-sabotage work in the United States. As far as I'm concerned, the Ford Motor Company is nothing more than an agency of the enemy. Draw your own conclusions about John Bugas."

Who is putting up the money for this Communist Jewish magazine, playing the same line as the Communist Protestant, infuriating and inflaming Jews against Christians and against citizens who do not agree with the party line of the Communists and the foreign-affairs line of the Administration? Joseph Brainin, a Jewish fellow-traveller, and Albert Kahn,

another Jewish fellow-traveller, author of one of the most vicious of the smear books preceding "Under Cover", both editors of the Jewish New Currents, are also editors and contributors of the Protestant. Any one of these enterprises by itself might not be important, but taken all together with the others they make perfectly clear the existence of a centrally directed conspiracy against the good order, peace, and unity of the American people in the interest of some group that wishes to cultivate disunity.

There is a great deal more to this story of the Red Provocateur among the religious groups. But it is not confined to them. It touches every sector of social life where men differ on fundamental subjects which are delicate and inflammable because they are extensively entangled in human emotions.

There is no room here to go into the mass of evidence which the Dies Committee has in its files and has not yet used, but which would be available to a Senate committee as a basis for further inquiry. For instance, there is a corporation known as the Sound View Foundation which externally gives no evidence of being a Communist outfit. Actually it is an agency through which funds are piped to various Communist-dominated organizations. A mere list of these indicates the extent and seriousness of this activity. Here is the list:

The New Masses	National Negro Conference
Daily Worker	School for Democracy
Freiheit	American Committee for the
Science and Society	Protection of the Foreign Born
New Currents	International Labor Defense
Federated Press	United American Spanish Aid
Pueblos Hispanos	Committee
National Committee to	German-American Emergency
Abolish the Poll Tax	Conference
Jewish Peoples Committee	Veterans of Abraham Lincoln
Nat'l Federation for Con-	Brigade
stitutional Liberties	Peoples Institute of Applied
Council for Pan-Ameri-	Religion
can Democracy	Farm Research

This corporation, I believe, is being supplied with funds by the Soviet Government. Thus while we are being exhorted to respect the feelings of our "great ally, Russia", here we have a Communist secret holding company financing Jewish and negro provocateur groups in America.

III - NON-SECTARIAN ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE

This was organized in 1933 by Samuel Untermyer. While a few Christians were brought in at the time as a front it was and is predominately a Jewish organization. The chairman is a Christian, Prof. James H. Sheldon, a former teacher in New York University, but the chairman of the board of directors is a Jew, Herman Hoffman. The other officers and directors are:

Rabbi Leon Fram, John Frederick Lewis, Jr., vice presidents; Isadore Lipschutz (a Belgian refugee), vice-president and treasurer; Julius L. Goldstein, chairman of executive committee; Mrs. Irene Harand, chairman of Women's Division; Mrs. Lillian Harris, vice-chairman of Women's Division; Abraham Cahan, Mrs. Solomon Dingol, Mark B. Dumler, Morris D. Forkosch, P. Gingold, Arthur J. Harvey, Sidney Hillman, Rev. Stephen M. James, Samuel S. Liebowitz, E.M. Loew, Rev. Donald G. Lothrop, Irving Maness, Arthur L. Malkinson, Ezekiel Rabinowitz, David Robinson, Jacob Ross, Mrs. Ketherine Hayden Salter, Prof. William P. Sears, Jr., Gerhart H. Seger, Miss Toni Sender, Hermann Stern, Dean William E. Taylor, Andrew Valusek, Joseph White, Max Zaritsky.

Its purpose is "making known to the American people their enemies at home by uncovering subversive elements", etc. Actually this organization undertakes to operate a private gestapo, employs undercover agents and is one of the most active agencies in the field of character assassination. The president of the Advisory Council of this organization at one time was Nelson P. Mead, former

President of City College. In 1941, Dr. Mead, disgusted at the vituperative methods employed by the League, resigned in a letter to Sheldon, its chairman, as follows:

Professor James H. Sheldon September 1, 1941
Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League
165 West 46th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Sheldon:

I read with much concern your recent statement attacking the America First Committee. It so happens that I am not in sympathy with the program of the America First Committee but nevertheless I am convinced of the sincerity of many persons identified with this organization. Moreover I still believe in the American principles of tolerance and freedom of opinion.

Under the circumstances I feel that I must resign as chairman of the advisory committee of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League and request you to remove my name from the League's stationery and literature.

(Signed) Very truly yours,
Nelson P. Mead

The Anti-Nazi League was the first to sponsor a smear book. This was called "I Find Treason", written ostensibly by Col. Richard Rollins in 1941. Here will be found almost all of the material later to appear in "Under Cover". Here the technique, now so well known, of smearing decent citizens by mentioning their names in connection with known subversives was extensively employed. One other fact has to do with the author. Rollins, who refers to himself as "Col." Richard Rollins, is actually named Isadore Rothberg. Rollins, in his application for a civil service job, signed himself as Rollins and then hurriedly had his name changed

from Rothberg to Rollins when a friend in the OPA tipped him off that he had violated the law by giving a false name. This is a criminal offense and is not mitigated by the fact that he later had his name changed. He was drafted in 1942 from the Anti-Nazi League Office. As soon as he had reached his 38th year he was immediately released and is now working in the OPA.

The chief investigator of this outfit is a woman who goes by the name of Dorothy Waring. Her correct name is Dorothy Kahn Wurzberger Kelen D'Oxylion. She was born in this country August 22, 1899 and has lived in New York since 1905. The names Wurzberger and Kelen D'Oxylion are the names of her husbands. She is an adventuress. She travelled in Europe with an Austrian Jewish writer named Rene R. Kraus. In 1939 her husband applied for home relief. Mrs. D'Oxylion or Waring said that she and her husband and their children had been thrown out of their apartment. She tried to become a secret operative of Naval Intelligence in July, 1940. In 1941, according to the records of the Philadelphia Police, she stated that she had conducted various investigations for the Dies Committee, that on Feb. 5, 1941 she was attending a Bund meeting in an east-side restaurant when one of her informers told her that the man sitting at the next table was Robert J. Boltz, wanted by State and Federal authorities. She

then said that for a fee of \$500 she would contact her informer and attempt to turn up Boltz for the police. The Philadelphia Police believed she was attempting to shake them down for \$500. Boltz was arrested without her in another city. Mrs. Waring never worked for the Dies Committee. She has been employed by two foreign concerns, British and Swedish, without, so far as I know, having registered. She has pretended to be acting as confidential agent for Military Intelligence but the FBI denies she has ever been employed by them. Her husband is illegally in this country and is awaiting a special bill in Congress making him a citizen. This is the type of person used by the Anti-Nazi League.

IV- ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

This organization presents one of the most difficult and delicate problems in our national life. The Anti-Defamation League may be described briefly thus:

The B'Nai Brith is the oldest and largest Jewish service organization in America. It has 600 lodges with 100,000 members, plus 40,000 women in 300 auxiliaries and 11,000 youth members. Its programs include social service, civic betterment, social welfare and philanthropy on a large scale for its members and the Jewish people. It is a very fine organization performing a highly useful service.

To all this it added another wholly proper and useful service...the defense of the Jew from defamation, ridicule and misrepresentation on stage, screen, the press and in society. This work the B'nai Brith began in 1913 and for this purpose organized the Anti-Defamation League. To use its own words, the Anti-Defamation League, "once devoted largely to fighting public defamation on stage and screen and in the press and literature...has shifted

its emphasis to a program of neutralizing anti-semitic libels and allegations through a systematic campaign of education for democracy to counteract the effects of un-American activity." (From "This is B'Nai Brith, p. 7.)

It began modestly to induce hotels to cease including discriminatory clauses in their ads and to force the discontinuance of the "Merchant of Venice" in public schools. It succeeded in the latter plan. It then began to drift into a kind of vigilante work. With the appearance of Hitler it went to work on an ambitious scale in an aggressive campaign against anti-semitism in America. Here is its own account:

"Within recent years American life has been marked by the development of anti-semitism upon a scale never before witnessed in this country. Many organizations arose encouraged by the impetus and strength of Fascist and Nazi groups abroad. The avowed purpose of these organizations was to destroy the security of the American Jew. It is true that some were the creation of racketeers. Public programs have been tied up with much of this effort. The struggle between orthodox religion and modernism has played its part.

"The time for indifference has passed. No solution of the problem could be found without a full understanding of what constituted that problem. Movements of similar character had to be sorted into groups of those which had possibilities of permanence and those which were fully ephemeral and in the nature of rackets. It was therefore necessary to obtain the most complete information available about all of them."

This was the point at which the League began to create a great reservoir of information on individuals and organizations. It is impossible to fail to see that the Jew in America faced a very unpleasant situation. There is little room for doubt that the danger of his situation here was greatly exaggerated. But no reasonable man can expect a people who have been so much

oppressed and whose escape from that condition in this country has been so recent to be wholly objective about the nature and extent of the menace about him. That he was fully justified in taking measures to combat that menace must be conceded by every fair-minded man. The question had to be decided as to what was the most effective method of combatting it. There is plenty of ground for believing that a small minority that determined to adopt aggressive methods against so vast a majority was very ill-advised. Yet that is what was done. Let the ADL Manual continue its story:

"For more than twenty years, the League had had its representatives in some parts of the nation... It now became necessary to have representatives in every important community in order that the League might know what was really taking place throughout the nation. It was necessary that an educational program be undertaken in order to keep our fellow citizens informed of the truth and that no libel be left unanswered. The League thereupon established contact with approximately 500 cities through representatives impressed with the necessity for prompt cooperation in all situations in which the League solicited their assistance."

Thus the League began to collect and accumulate data upon individuals deemed anti-semitic. It began to establish offices until it had 23 in the nation with some 500 representatives in all towns. No man who made a slurring remark about a Jew went unnoticed. Rumors, refusal to hire a Jew, suspicions, even friendliness in public affairs with persons suspected of hostility to Jews became a subject of notation, investigation,

chronicle. The importance of crackpot organizations was exaggerated. "The fact-finding activities of the League", said its bulletin, "had to be strengthened and enlarged to cope with the established un-American agencies that continued to work with unabated energy and obviously increased resources."

The time came when the League had a dossier on almost everyone. It employed undercover agents, engaged extensively in snooping, tapped telephones, used the informer and spy on an extensive scale. It built up a morgue of scandal on the private lives of men in public life. Its files today may be said to be literally a menace to the freedom of action of individuals. It is in truth nothing less than a Gestapo, perhaps more extensive than any government or police bureau. The police have records only on criminals. The anti-Defamation League has records on everybody who ever uttered an unfavorable word about the Jew. How has it used these records and histories and agents? Here is its own account:

"Ever on the alert to supply the molders of public opinion with factual material regarding the statues of fascists and Nazis in the United States, the League was in constant communication with many avenues of public expression. Prominent authors and editorial writers were frequently communicated with and newspapers and magazines were furnished with material which had for its purpose exposure of Fascist activities in America."

Two important facts are omitted. (1) The League account omits to say that social, political and economic pressure

on an unparalleled scale was brought to bear upon those same writers - and public men - who refused to accept their "material"; (2) that it was interested not in Nazi and Fascist groups but in anti-semitic groups, that anybody suspected of being anti-semitic was called fascist and anybody who did not accept the position of the League on foreign affairs or the war or the establishment of a Zionist state was called a fascist. It is the simple truth to say that the ADL is now a terrorist organization. It is using its resources now for terroristic and defamatory purposes. There is no force in America anywhere so dangerous, so deadly, so sinister as this ruthless Cheka. Here are some pertinent facts about its activities:

(1) It seldom acts directly but used organizations fronted by Christians already brought into existence by itself, plants its attacks upon individuals through these organizations.

(2) It employs a network of spies and does not hesitate to tap telephone wires, to enter private premises of its victims for purposes of illegal search.

(3) One example of its activities, for instance, is the operation of an Italian language newspaper called La Parola, which runs at a deficit made up by ADL subsidies. It is run by Communists and specialists in defamation, persons of Italian origin, all of them unnaturalized and lately arrived refugees. This newspaper has gone so far that its editor is now under arrest for criminal libel.

(4) It operates through little-known subsidiaries. One, for instance, would be a man named George J. Mintzer, of 39 Broadway, New York City, who has an investigatory organization which is supplied with

money by the American Jewish Congress and the ADL, B'nai Brith and such well-known Jewish contributors to these activities as Arthur Goldsmith. Mintzer is a Galician who came to this country in 1901, practiced law, was assistant U.S. Attorney. Up to 1939 he was partner in a law firm. He withdrew from the firm and in 1941 opened an office on the 31st floor of 39 Broadway with eight rooms. He has associated with him at least one man who has an extensive criminal record. He collects extensive files on supposed anti-semitic persons and maintains numerous contacts with the army, navy, coast guard and FBI. Mintzer has been used as a pipe-line through which funds are contributed to various communist provocateur, and similar organizations including funds to communist groups to arouse negroes.

(5) The second smear book to be sent out for public consumption to destroy the reputations of public men opposed to the Internationalist group was made possible by the ADL. It was called "Sabotage", written by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. Kahn is a Communist, educated in Moscow, and the present editor of the Communist sheet called The Hour. Kahn acknowledged that his book had been compiled largely from the files of the Anti-Defamation League. It consisted of accounts of all those squalid and shabby groups later rounded up in the indictments, most of them crackpots save people like the Bund and Pelley, etc. Then the names of members of America First, the senators and representatives who opposed our involvement in the war are woven into the narrative to be traduced by innuendo. There was, of course, no need to expose the Bund or Pelley or the other offenders since this had been done completely by the Dies Committee. In fact practically all the evidential exhibits included in this volume were lifted without credit or acknowledgement from the Dies files. The Anti-Defamation League supplied the material upon which innocent persons were smeared.

The book was published by Harper & Bros. When it appeared Martin Dies went to Harper's and called attention to the obvious theft of his files, using his exhibits while at the same time smearing him. Harper & Bros. assured him that no more copies would be issued without giving due credit. When Harper's called on Kahn and Sayers to make the changes they refused and Harper's threw the book out of their publishing house. They were threatened with suits for libel and I am in possession of authentic material proving the outrageous character of the libels. It is not necessary

to include it here. The book did not sell anyhow. Later a new edition was brought out in cheap form selling for 50 cents and published by a man named Levinson Gleason (true name unknown) and is now being industriously plugged by Walter Winchell.

(6) The ADL has made it a point to play closely with the present Department of Justice, has continually brought to the attention of the Department the contents of its files for the purpose of provoking either prosecutions or grand jury investigations. The first indictment of the alleged subversive groups now awaiting trial was obtained after an investigation conducted entirely by agents of the ADL working in the Department of Justice. William P. Maloney, prosecuting attorney for the Department in that case, was in continual telephonic and telegraphic communication as well as personal contact with the agents of the Anti-Defamation League. One of these agents, Sanford Griffith, is a person with a dark record in the field of corrupt finance, whose firm was suspended from the New York Stock Exchange for dishonest transactions and ejected from the blue-sky market by the Attorney General's office of New York State. All of these groups seem to specialize in the employment of this type of person.

(7) It is from the files of the ADL that Walter Winchell receives most of his "dope" on seditious persons. It would take a large volume to list and describe the number of scandalous falsehoods relayed over the air by Walter Winchell and by the numerous Communists and radical Jewish magazines as well as organs like PM and the New York Post. The innumerable innuendoes and charges in the several books have all been carefully checked with the result that the book "Under Cover" as well as the volumes "Sabotage" and "I find Treason" may be described as a wilderness of lies. The evil results of these wholesale scandals may be seen from the following two examples:

Walter Winchell in his broadcast uttered a ringing alarm to the "authorities" in Philadelphia. He told the Philadelphia police and the world over the air that the American-Ukrainian Committee was meeting in Philadelphia. If you want to know what is cooking there, he said, "read the chapter in the new edition of Sabotage entitled Bombers and Killers and the character referred to as the Big House". Winchell was plugging this book as he did "Under Cover". Actually there was no such chapter in this book, for

the following reason. In the original edition there was a shamefully libelous story to the effect that this organization of Ukrainians was a criminal organization when in fact it is a society of Ukrainians who dare to believe that Ukraina should be a free country. Many lies accompanied the story. Through their counsel, the Association called on Harper & Bros. to retract the libel and omit the charge from future copies of the book. This Harper & Bros. did, as the following correspondence shows:

Mr. Luke Myshuha
and Ukrainian National Association
as Owner and Publisher of the
newspaper SVOBODA
c/o John Drewen, Esq.
Jersey City, N.J.

May 20, 1943

In re: Myshuha and Svoboda in connection
with claims against the book en-
titled SABOTAGE.

Dear Sirs:

We are writing with the authority and approval of the authors with respect to the references to Mr. Luke Myshuha and Svoboda in the book SABOTAGE. A careful examination of the facts indicates that there is no justification for including Mr. Myshuha and Svoboda in the chapter entitled "Bombers and Killers". You may be sure that any such references will be deleted from the said chapter in any subsequent editions.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) HARPER & BROTHERS
G. Paxton, V.P.

The undersigned Albert Kahn and Michael Sayers, authors of the book SABOTAGE, approve the above letter and authorize that the publishers, Harper & Brothers, send such letter to Mr. Luke Myshuha and the Ukrainian National Association as owner and publisher of the newspaper Svoboda.

(Signed) Albert Kahn
" Michael Sayers

The libel goes over the air. The injury done is never adequately corrected. Thus foreign groups, negroes, Christians and Jews are made the targets of these vicious provocateurs.

Another example is the following: In March, 1944 issue of Magazine Digest, published in Canada, which some interests here seem to be plugging in opposition to the Reader's Digest which has dared to print some critical articles on the New Deal, Emil Ludwig, a German refugee, publishes an article charging that Victor Ridder, American publisher of German descent, has organized 20,000 German societies in the United States to work for a soft peace for Germany. This is an outright lie. The organization referred to was organized by and under the sponsorship of the OWI and what Ridder did he did at their request. What harm is done in the field of good relationships among our numerous groups of foreign origin by these shameful libels upon their loyalty?

(8) There is no need to fear the effects of exposing these facts to the public. For while Gentile leaders have been the targets of the smearers, Jewish leaders have not escaped. If more Gentiles have been smeared than Jews it is merely because there are more Gentiles. This phase of the matter is of the very greatest importance.

Recently a committee was formed called the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. Its members include some of the most distinguished Jewish leaders in America along with a number of equally distinguished Christians. No sooner was this committee set up than the American Jewish Congress and its other materialization, the American Jewish Conference, went to work on it. The same methods used against non-Jewish groups which failed to conform were used against this committee. Even the bitter and slanderous Post of New York, which tried to destroy Senator David I. Walsh, was taken aback by the virulence of the attack on its own brethren and condemned it in an editorial (Jan. 3, 1944).

Another Jewish Committee is the Free Palestine Committee. There is a difference between Jews about their problem. One element - the Zionists - want a Jewish state in Palestine. The other favors free immigration of Jews into Palestine but does not believe Palestine should be a Jewish state and particularly a Jewish state guaranteed by the United States. The American Jewish Congress of Rabbi Wise, which works closely with the ADL, went to work equally upon this committee, making the most violent charges, spying upon it, etc., Finally Dr. Peter H. Bergson, in the name of his colleagues of the Free Palestine Committee, brought proceedings against Rabbi Wise

before the Rabbinical Council for libel. I attach a photostat of the article from The Answer (Jewish magazine) reporting this proceeding, which I ask you to read with care.

There is plenty of evidence that the first series of indictments obtained by William P. Maloney was wholly an Anti-Defamation League project. This whole indictment episode is an example of the technique of wholesale defamation. The persons indicted consist largely of three or four or five groups like those connected with the Bund, Vieroek and Pelley, who were actually engaged in subversive activities. The others were largely violent crackpots without following of any importance or influence, whose aims were chiefly very unintelligent and unimportant opposition to the New Deal and opposition to America's entry into the war. However, they were quite foolish, indiscreet and often ridiculous in their methods. The more important of this group, that is Vieroek, Pelley and the Bund participants, had already been indicted and some of them even convicted. The object of this indictment secured by Maloney was to provide a public forum for defaming by innuendo Congressmen and Senators and other public leaders who were opposed to the war and whose influence was to be broken by smearing them as pro-Nazi by showing that letters had passed between the crackpots and themselves, or that the crackpots had circulated anti-war speeches of these officials. An indictment furnished plenty of newspaper

copy and publicity for the smearers to go work on the real objects of their hatred.

The material upon which these people were indicted came from the Anti-Defamation League and the supplementary investigations and direction were provided by the Anti-Defamation League acting inside the Department of Justice under William P. Maloney. In doing this job the contacts of Maloney were the ADL directly and with a person named Sanford Griffith. Griffith is a professional smearer. He was engaged in this activity for the pro-war groups prior to Pearl Harbor. He operates under the firm name of Market Analysts, Inc. He used in this indictment job at least one agent, named Barbara Kringer, who, with other informers, was planted by him in the New York office of the America First Committee before the war and was discovered and put out of the offices.

This same Griffith handled a smear campaign, apparently for the same forces, against the Standard Oil Co of New Jersey since America's entry into the war. The following is the story of this incident, which has never been made known but on which we have complete documentary proof, including large numbers of telegrams and other documents supplied by the Dies Committee, but never yet made the subject of a hearing.

This campaign ran from the latter part of 1941 (about December) through July, 1942.

The Houdry Process Corporation and the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey were rivals in the production of synthetic tires - each had its own special process. The Houdry Co., through its subsidiary, the Catalytic Development Co., employed Sanford Griffith, of Market Analysts, Inc., to conduct a smear campaign against S.O. Griffith, we have seen, had access to the deadly files of the ADL. This smear was carried out by Griffith with the connivance of the Union for Democratic Action, headed by Frank Kingdon, the War Writers Board, headed by Rex Stout; Harold G. Calhoun, special attorney of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice; Creekmore Fath, counsel of the U.S. Senate Patents Committee; and a fake minority stockholders committee in S.O. set up by Griffith. Telegrams and communications between Griffith and the above and between Griffith and his Washington representative, Francis A. Henson, who was also a member of the Union for Democratic Action, reveal the following facts:

Early in 1941 the Department of Justice subpoenaed highly confidential and detailed information from the files of S.O. of N.J. The object of the smear was to show that S.O. of N.J. had done business with I.G. Farben, the German trust. Telegrams indicate that this confidential information subpoenaed by the Dept. of Justice from S.O. of N.J. was turned over by Calhoun to Griffith in January, 1942 for the benefit of Houdry.

Griffith then prepared a release to the newspapers and to the Truman Committee of the Senate, demanding that S.O. be investigated for its Axis ties. He got the Union for Democratic Action, a Communist-front organization, and its chairman, Frank Kingdon, to put this out under their names, which they did on January 30. Failing to get action from the Truman Committee, Griffith prepared another release, this one an open letter to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., which was also put out by the Union for Democratic Action. Both these releases got a wide play in the newspapers at the time.

Failing to get action from the Truman Committee, Griffith and Calhoun then went to work to get the Senate Patents Committee to hold a public hearing on S.O. Meantime Griffith formed a very small group of so-called minority stockholders in S.O. to put pressure on the Senate Patents Committee. Actually these stockholders were probably employed by Griffith,

as the telegrams sent in their names to Washington were paid for by his concern, Market Analysis, Inc.

This campaign continued through the spring in 1942. Griffith got the cooperation of Creekmore Fath, counsel of the Senate Patents Committee and he, together with Calhoun, went to work to get Rex Stout and the War Writers Board, a quasi-official agency of the government, to join in the smear. They also tried to get publicity for the smear over the American Forum of the Air (Granik) and Griffith got Guenter Reimann to write a book called "Patents for Hitler" which carried an introduction by Creekmore Fath. Reimann also wrote an article in the New Republic in April 1942 called "How Farben Swindled Standard Oil."

On July 7, 1942, Harold G. Calhoun, of the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice, sent the following message to Sanford Griffith: "Fath requested cooperation of War Writers Board from Melvin Douglas today. Douglas conferring with Daniels (Jonathan). Expect O.K. tonight." On July 6, 7, 8, 1942 the Houdry Co. ran a series of full page ads in papers throughout the country to the effect that the Houdry process could furnish automobile tires for everybody.

The Senate Patents Committee held a public hearing on S.O. The hearing was pretty much run by the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Dept. Numerous witnesses were heard who made all sorts of charges against S.O. S.O. officials demanded to be heard and gave their side of the case. When the Committee finished with S.O., the hearings suddenly stopped and soon thereafter Creekmore Fath got a job at \$7500 a year in the Board of Economic Warfare under Henry Wallace.

V - FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY

This organization was formed in 1937 by Leon M. Birkhead, an ex-minister who once specialized in traducing ministers of the gospel and who has toyed with Communist activities without actually being one. Birkhead is a specialist in vilification. He set about organizing his smear organization after a visit

to Germany in 1935 where he saw with amazement the work of Hitler's Gestapo. Rex Stout is the President of this organization. He was one of the founders of the New Masses, the Communist organ. He was originally a member of the executive board of this notorious sheet. Later his wife was business manager. He later was carried as an executive editor. He has been connected with a number of Communist organizations. He sponsored the Communist-controlled Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party in 1941. He demanded a diplomatic break with Spain when Franco took power and also demanded the revocation of the Bridges deportation order.

He is chairman of the War Writers' Board. Stout has been one of the most virulent champions of the smear technique. He was a member and financial supporter of the Union for Democratic Action, a notorious Communist-front organization. Stout was the author of "The Illustrious Dunderheads", a pre-campaign book in 1942 smearing all non-interventionists. The illustrations are by William Groper, cartoonist for the Daily Worker and New Masses.

There was another organization known as the Coordinating Committee for Democratic Action. Its executive secretary was Morris Rosenblatt. This Coordinating Committee was sued by Merwin K. Hart for one million dollars libel and this suit is still pending. This Committee was then merged with the Friends of Democracy.

The Friends of Democracy engage in character assassination on an extensive scale. They go about it in a workmanlike manner. When a man is marked for "destruction", as they phrase it, the enterprise is called a "Project". The Friends of Democracy take credit for the successful carrying out of the "Lindbergh Project". I attach a photostat of the letter sent out by Rex Stout to sponsors of Friends of Democracy outlining the "Lindbergh Project". For sheer, cold-blooded, diabolical specifications and blueprints for the ruin of an American citizen this is a prize. You will observe that Mr. Birkhead began his work here on this model after he had visited the Gestapo in Germany. I urge a careful reading of the attached photostat.

The following is the report attached to the Rex Stout letter:

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

REPORT ON THE STATUS OF THE LINDBERGH PROJECT

The purpose of this memorandum is not to repeat the case against Lindbergh. Our National Committee members are sufficiently well acquainted with the original material on this subject which we recently made public. Some of it has already appeared in newspapers and magazines. Each of you has a copy of our pamphlet, "Is Lindbergh A Nazi?"

Our purpose here is to outline a METHOD FOR STOPPING LINDBERGH - a method which has already succeeded against men such as Winrod of Kansas, McWilliams of New York, Father Coughlin and others less well known.

True, Lindbergh presents a far more difficult problem. While these other men had to strive for national recognition and prestige, he entered politics a nationally known and respected figure. These other men had strong competition for the position of national fuehrer. Lindbergh has none.

What is more, Lindbergh is clearly not an innocent dupe. Every word he utters, all his actions, show an understanding of his "destiny" - an understanding of the Hitlerian technique for disrupting national unity; for promoting anti-semitism on a wide scale; for gaining control of city, state and national government.

These difficulties, however, are not insurmountable. Lindbergh's influence can be overcome. The method developed by Friends of Democracy for doing this traces back to Mr. Birkhead's visit to Germany in 1935.

KANSAS CITY TO BERLIN

Mr. Birkhead, a Unitarian minister from Kansas City, Missouri, went to Berlin to find out what Hitler's Germany was like. Quite by accident he discovered the existence of a clearing house for international Nazi propaganda under the direction of the world's leading professional anti-semiter, Julius Streicher. Masquerading as a fencing academy, Streicher's institution had already collected and catalogued thousands of pieces of propaganda favorable to Nazism from all parts of the world.

Some of the propagandists most highly rated by the Streicher agency were respected Americans. One of the most important at the time, was a minister, the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod of Wichita, Kansas. The method we now propose to use to stop Lindbergh was developed after Mr. Birkhead left Berlin in the campaign against Winrod.

Before this campaign began Mr. Birkhead interviewed and corresponded with many of the men and organizations listed in Streicher's file. Some, he found, were avowedly sympathetic to Nazism; others pretended a devotion to Americanism. From all he collected documents and information.

Within two years' time Mr. Birkhead was recognized as a leading authority on subversive activities in the United States. Urged on by others active in the fight against totalitarianism, he organized Friends of Democracy November 1, 1937. Here his investigations were augmented by those of a small paid staff and by volunteer workers. Many of these attended meetings of Nazi organizations. Before long, Friends of Democracy was assembling a unique file filled with propaganda, affidavits, reports, correspondence and the papers of subversive leaders.

THE WINROD PROJECT

This material was put to good use in providing the background for countless magazine articles, newspaper reports, radio and other public addresses. More than two million pamphlets prepared by Friends of Democracy have been distributed by Churches, labor unions, schools, community clubs, and individuals. However, it was in the Winrod project - the model for our present plan to beat Lindbergh - that this material was used in the most spectacular and highly effective fashion.

Early in 1938 it became apparent that the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, popular and widely known in Kansas, was about to seek the Republican nomination for United States Senate. Veteran observers conceded his nomination. It looked as if Winrod, also known as the "Jayhawk Nazi" would shortly find a national forum in the halls of the United States Senate from which to spread his hate filled doctrines.

That, at least, was the situation until Friends of Democracy entered the area with new and sensational evidence. This material, some of it collected long in advance in anticipation of Winrod's intentions, was published in a pamphlet, which proved Winrod's Nazi connections and anti-democratic views by presenting photostatic reproductions of his own writings and publications.

This pamphlet was distributed to all key men in the Republican Party organization, to influential citizens, and to rural and city newspapers. It found its way into farms and factories, schools and churches. And, what is most important, the disclosures created a local and national uproar. John M. Hamilton, then Republican National Chairman, intervened and repudiated Winrod. Others followed suit and Winrod ultimately ran a bad third in a fourway race.

THE TECHNIQUE APPLIED TO LINDBERGH

The technique evolved in the Winrod case - that of preparing and distributing documented pamphlets to key people - was also used effectively on Father Coughlin and McWilliams. For the former, a special pamphlet was prepared and sent to 15,000 Catholic leaders at the time the fascist-minded priest had a radio audience of 4,500,000 persons. Following this the Church exercised such restraint over Father Coughlin that he soon discontinued his broadcasts.

NOW WE HAVE COMPLETED THE GROUND WORK FOR APPLYING THIS TECHNIQUE TO LINDBERGH. Because of nation-wide ramifications it is the most ambitious project we have yet undertaken.

The first edition of our pamphlet on Lindbergh - again full of revealing photostatic evidence - is off the press. Already it has received much favorable attention. THERE IS NO DOUBT IT CAN DO THE JOB IF WE GET IT INTO THE HANDS OF THE RIGHT PEOPLE.

We have worked out a plan of distribution which, we believe, not only will discredit Lindbergh in the eyes of all good Americans but will at the same time block whatever plans he may have for election to the United States Senate.

Briefly, our Lindbergh pamphlet must follow others we prepared into mine and mill, school, church, office and factory; into newspaper and magazine columns and public debate; into the minds and hearts of the people who can make or break Lindbergh. And the pamphlet must be followed up by letters, speakers, organizations, all the time-honored and tedious, but usually effective ingredients of a whirlwind political campaign.

LINDBERGH AND OTHER PROJECTS

The Lindbergh project, although the most important at the moment, is only one of several projects now under way. We are making every effort to convince Henry Ford that he should take action to stop the Ku Klux Klan from distributing a new edition of his publication, "The International Jew". In order to accomplish this we would like to distribute about 50,000 copies of our pamphlet, "Henry Ford Must Choose" to Masons, Protestant leaders and other outstanding citizens throughout the country.

This project and many others (e.g. the Negro project to curb the dangerous and little publicized growth of anti-Semitism in Harlem and other communities; the "Gestapo" project for the distribution of our pamphlet by that name showing "what a Hitlerized world would be like"; the "Directory" project involving the publication of a list of all pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic groups) must remain unrealized until we are provided with the necessary funds.

IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR US TO ASK THE ASSISTANCE OF OUR NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN OBTAINING FUNDS IF THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY DID NOT MAKE IT ESSENTIAL FOR US TO REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO DEFEAT DEMOCRACY'S ENEMIES. WE did not create the crisis for democracy - but we intend doing everything we can to maintain tolerance, freedom and understanding in spirit and in fact.

Our main job today is to see our projects through to a successful conclusion. The Lindbergh project will require at least \$15,000. Our other projects - each necessary and important - require equivalent expenditures. We cannot - and do not - expect any additional financial assistance from our national committee.

We believe the ultimate solution to our problem lies in drawing into the circles of our active supporters the friends - and the friends of friends - of our widely known National Committee. This would create a reservoir of small contributions which would add up to the power to carry on our work effectively.

Any steps our National Committee members take in this direction will be appreciated by the millions of Americans who require only the FACTS to lead them into an enlightened and progressive course of action.

Roy Tozier, Research Director
Friends of Democracy, Inc.
Nov. 29, 1941

The Friends of Democracy have issued numerous libelous and scurrilous attacks on people who refused to take part in the interventionist plans of the organization. Their chief contribution, however, is the book "Under Cover", ostensibly written by John Roy Carlson. This book, for reasons now perfectly obvious, has attained an enormous sale - nearly 800,000 copies - and the publishers expect it to go to 1,000,000. The book itself is not, as a book, an impressive performance. It is, however, taken as part of a whole campaign, an

amazing and diabolical experiment in wholesale character assassination. But it cannot be understood or appraised unless it is taken as a mere part of this campaign.

This book was sponsored by Friends of Democracy. Birkhead has declared publicly that he employed Carlson, the author, for nearly four years and that he was in constant and almost daily contact with him while the material was being collected. Rex Stout, president, has also declared in a broadcast that he was in constant conference with Carlson while the book was being prepared. It is entirely possible that, as he claims, Carlson wrote the book himself. It is a very shoddy and trashy piece of writing. But the actual writing is just a mere chore in its production. The design, the technique, the careful slanting of innuendo is beyond doubt the work of Birkhead and Stout, experts in vilification. The book must be taken, as a whole, as the joint work of Birkhead, Stout and Carlson.

The sale of the book has been made possible by the most extensive propaganda campaign ever known. No publisher, without spending millions, could use such a campaign. It enlisted the weekly broadcast of Winchell, the most widely heard broadcast on the air, innumerable other broadcasts, Winchell's newspaper column several times a week, the column of other writers, plugs from almost every internationalist radio program, the active

salesmanship of almost every synagogue in the country along with a gigantic newspaper advertising and publicity campaign. It has been a profitable venture. The authors and publishers will split three-quarters of a million dollars between them if it is not all dissipated in libel suits, taxes and judgments.

The book "Under Cover" is important because it is a perfect and complete epitomy of the methods used by the smearers. The following notes have to do with this book and its sponsors.

I have said that the author, Carlson, wrote the book as an employee of the Friends of Democracy. He was assisted in this job by the Anti-Defamation League. On Oct. 30, 1943, Arthur Hale, over Station WOR and network, stated that Carlson was employed by the B'nai Brith organization and its offshoot, the Anti-Defamation League and that Robert F. Greenfield and Richard Gudstadt, Chairman, made case histories of all information they had obtained. Following is a transcript of this broadcast:

"Before signing off we will tell you something about the book 'Under Cover'.

"We hear from several sources that a number of FBI agents are busily checking on the operations of the newly-famed author of the book 'Under Cover' which professes to expose native Fascists, fifth columnists, and anti-Semites. The G-men are re-tracing the steps taken by John Roy Carlson, checking where and how he obtained his material, and what part he played in obtaining it. The curious part of all this is that Carlson was employed by the

B'Nai Brith organization and its off-shoot, the Anti-Defamation League which checks on all anti-Semitic activities.

"Carlson, his superior, Robert F. Greenfield, and Chairman Richard Gudstadt of the Anti-Defamation League made case histories of all information they had obtained; all of this information was promptly turned over to the FBI and some of it has been used in the prosecution of cases by the FBI. Thus, the facts that the investigating agents are now checking should be right under their very noses, on file with the FBI in New York and Washington. And that's confidentially yours, Arthur Hale."

Hale should be summoned and asked for the source of his information. He is one of the pet broadcasters of this group and one of the most active smearers. We also know that the Friends of Democracy received material and aid from the Anti-Defamation League. The Friends of Democracy filed with the Civil Service Commission an alleged report on subversive activities, giving the names of numerous organizations and persons. By mistake undoubtedly, notes crept into this report indicating the source of their material and these notes read "(All the foregoing from ADL reports)", "(ADL report)", "(Chicago ADL reports)", etc.

Actually the direction and execution of this intrigue falls heavily under the influence of the Communist and fellow-traveller gang. I have already indicated the affiliations of Rex Stout and Birkhead, And now for a brief record of the author of "Under Cover".

Carlson has received a good deal of publicity about the numerous names under which he travelled. The book "Under Cover" was published with John Roy Carlson as its author. Who the real author was did not come out until later. Carlson had gone by a number of names in his spy work such as George Pagnanelli, Decker and others. These aliases are not so important. They are part of the usual paraphernalia of the informer and spy. What is important is that when he was challenged to give his real name he said it was Arthur A. Derounian and he still insists that is his real name. Actually his name is Avedis Boghos Derounian. That is the name under which he came into this country and under which he was registered in high school and college. He graduated from New York University School of Journalism in 1932 under the name of Avedis Boghos Derounian. He continued to use that name right up to 1941. When he published the book he adopted the name of John Roy Carlson, while at the same time writing in other magazines under the name of Thomas L. Decker and George Paige. It was not until after he was forced to disclose that his name was not John Roy Carlson that he declared his names was Arthur A. Derounian, a name he has adopted only recently, since he registered in the draft of 1940 as Avedis Derounian. Actually there is some question about what his real name is. His father came into this country under the name of Boghos Derounian but there is

doubt as to whether that is his real name.

It is very difficult, after a complete check on his activities since he left college, to determine what the man's true political affiliations are. He seems to be largely an exhibitionist and a congenital liar. However, there is not the slightest doubt that from the beginning he has played the Communist line. Whether he has ever been a Communist or not is difficult to say - probably not. But one thing at least is certain and that is either that he is a Communist and has consciously played the Communist line or he has been used by them. The following facts are both interesting and pertinent:

Story of the Dashnags

Derounian declares in his book that he began his great career as a patriot when he witnessed the assassination of Tourian the Armenian Archbishop of America, on Christmas Day, 1933. Throughout his book he refers to the "bloody" Dashnags, who assassinated the Archbishop. Actually in the years between 1933 and 1938 he spent much of his time working up opposition and fury against these so-called bloody Dashnags, so that you might get the impression in reading what he says that they were some sort of criminal maffia engaged in murder and enemies of their country. Actually the facts in the case are as follows:

Derounian is an Armenian. The Armenians were oppressed for many years by the Turks. In the break-up at the end of the last war they set up a republic. This republic was crushed by the Bolsheviks and Armenia was absorbed by Soviet Russia. It is now one of the so-called Soviet Republics. The Soviet government set about subduing the will of the Armenians. They are ardent Catholics (Armenian rite). Churches were closed, religious services suppressed, schools seized, priests arrested and

driven from the country. After a while the Russian government decided to deal differently with the religious question. It announced itself the enemy of religion in Armenia but declared its intention of wiping out religion (1) by the atheistic indoctrination of the people, particularly the young, and (2) the corruption of the clergy. In 1931 Georges Agabekov, head of the Russian OGPU in Eastern Europe, left the Soviet government, went to France and wrote an account of the work of the OGPU among the Armenians. He wrote in his book "OGPU", page 210:

"At Moscow since 1920 the policy has been in especial favor of winning over the Armenian clergy and using those living outside Armenia as agents. The Bishops of Soviet Armenia were to us very particular objects of attention. If one of them showed himself complacent we made every effort to have him appointed to a charge outside Soviet Armenia. Thus we had one man appointed to the diocese of Bagdad. An Armenian bishop of Constantinople was engaged in our service as follows:

"In 1929 the Armenian Catholicus at Echmaidzin wanted to consecrate Basmatchian as bishop and therefore ordered that priests who resided at Constantinople to report to him. Etingon, our resident at Constantinople, heard about it and perceiving how the business might be turned to our profit, managed matters as follows: At his instance the Soviet Consul refused Basmatchian the visa he required in order to get to the Catholicus. At the same time he promised Basmatchian a visa and every help toward his elevation to the episcopate if he would engage to render certain services to OGPU when back in Constantinople as bishop.

"Basmathian burned with a desire to become a bishop and accordingly agreed to do everything. But first he must give us a promise over his signature to serve OGPU, along with a statement that the engagement was voluntary. Basmatchian complied and to this hour continues zealously to serve us."

Agabekov then gave the names of other bishops outside of Armenia who were working as the agents of the

OGPU. The majority of the Armenian people lived outside of Armenia in different parts of the world. Armenian intrigue against Soviet tyranny went on, very naturally, everywhere. The Soviet therefore was bent, by intelligent propaganda, on bringing the Armenians outside of Russia to her support while at the same time suppressing opposition to Soviet power.

The publication of this book created a sensation among Armenians. It naturally created great suspicion of all Armenian bishops throughout the world. The cause of a free Armenia had been carried on by an organization known as the Dashnag (which means Federation) and referred to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. Patriotic Armenians belonged to it everywhere. It was the most numerous powerful organization in America among the Armenians. However, Armenians divided into two other groups - first, those siding with the Soviet and in favor of Soviet Armenia, and those who, while not for the Soviet, nevertheless were willing to let things ride. The Armenian Federation (Dashnags) however, continued their opposition to Bolshevik control of their country and their church and continued to agitate for the freedom of Armenia. About the time of the publication of the Agabekov expose, Tourian was sent to America as archbishop and primate of the Armenian church. Tourian had been the bishop of Manchester in England and there had been a regular contributor to the pro-Soviet magazine called Massis. Because of this he was suspect among the patriotic Armenians in America. Besides, the Armenians knew that no prelate could get to Soviet Armenia for consecration as an archbishop and primate without the authority of the Russian government and that this authority was used to corrupt the bishops. Moreover Tourian was not long here when he incurred the displeasure of the patriotic groups by literally splitting the Church by a schism. He displayed the Soviet banner in the Cathedral and on one occasion refused to enter the grounds where an Armenian national convention was meeting unless the Armenian flag was lowered and the Soviet flag substituted. This signalled his doom.

The result of this was that on Christmas Eve, 1933 Tourian was assassinated in the Cathedral by nine Armenians. These men were members of the

Armenian Federation, as were all anti-Soviet Armenians, which was quite natural. They were prosecuted and convicted. One was acquitted, two were sentenced to be executed and six were sentenced to prison. Later, Governor Lehman commuted the sentences of the two to be electrocuted to life imprisonment because "of most unusual circumstances". Actually, it is understood that the unusual circumstances were that the assassination was not an ordinary predatory criminal deed but a deed carried out by men who believed they were destroying a traitor to their country. Whether Tourian was the agent of the Russian OGPU remains unsettled. It is a fact, however, that anti-Communist Armenians believed it to be true and it is also a fact that despite what the Russians had done to the Armenian people and church, Tourian played along with the Soviet.

In this country there are several Armenian organizations represented by various newspapers. The patriotic Armenian Federation, opposed to Communism is represented by a paper called the Hairenik, published in Boston, the leading Armenian journal in this country. The out-and-out Communist paper is called Lraper, published in New York, with small circulation. There was another paper published in New York called the Armenian Spectator. This paper played the Communist line. It was a sort of fellow-traveller without being actually Communist, as is Lraper. Derounian apparently began his career as a reporter on this paper, the Spectator. He reported the trial of the murderers of Tourian and raised so much fuss in the courtroom that the judge called him to the bench and rebuked him. Later he became managing editor and then editor of the paper.

He became managing editor in June, 1935 and the editor Nov. 7, 1935. On November 28, after he became editor, an editorial read:

"Armenians throughout the world, particularly those of the Fatherland, today joyously celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of Soviet rule of Armenia....

"This seemingly radical step of our Fatherland, subscribing to a new political theory and forming a link in the mighty chain of the Union of Soviet Republics despite the agitation of long-distance politicians in Europe and America dedicated to policies to suit themselves, proved to be the sanest move that could be made. The present era of progress denoting the vigorous growth of our tiny government under the sheltering wings of the fraternizing Soviet Union is a guarantee that Armenia is on the right highway to prosperity and new attainments in the cultural and industrial sphere....

"It is with this spirit (of pride and gratitude) that the Armenian Spectator raises its voice with sincerity to shout 'Many, many happy returns of this glorious day'."

This "glorious day" was the day when Soviet Russia crushed the independent Armenian republic and bolshevized Armenia.

He became the editor on Nov. 7, as pointed out. The preceding week a delegation headed by John Tashjian, Derounian's predecessor, and made up of 16 Armenians, sailed for Russia to celebrate this "glorious day" and they were received with great eclat in Moscow on Nov. 17 by representatives of the People's Commissars.

Derounian left the Spectator on Jan. 9, 1936. He disappears, as far as I can discover, after that until November, 1936, ten months later, when an

article appeared, signed by Avedis Derounian, in a magazine called Soviet Russia Today published in New York City by the Friends of the Soviet Union and subsidized by the Communists. It is a glowing account of the glories of Armenia under Soviet rule.

In December, 1936, he became the editor of a small unimportant publication called the World Digest for which he worked through 1937 and 1938 and throughout this period he continued to write letters to the Spectator, make addresses before Armenian audiences, write articles in the Armenian papers, lecturing and scolding all manner of people. His chief preoccupation at the time was the publicizing and praising of Louis Adamic, a Communist, who seemed to be his closest friend. These Communist publications cannot be examined without concluding that Derounian was a kind of professional Armenian plugging for Soviet rule of Armenia and that he was chiefly busy hounding that element of the Armenian population which was opposed to Communist domination of Armenia in Europe. Under another manifestation he was posing as a young man ablaze with American loyalties while slopping over in his Armenian personality over the martyrdom of the great Archbishop whom he worshipped for his holiness. In his American manifestation he was pointing out how his family on arriving in this country went out to Long Island to be away from Armenians and how they became presbyterians.

Then in 1938, he says, he began his work as an undercover man. He first went to work for Fortune for a few months. Then he got a job with the Council Against Intolerance headed by James Waterman Wise, a Communist fellow-traveller and son of Rabbi Wise and a smearer in his own right, treasurer of the American League for Peace and Democracy which Earl Browder testified under oath was a Communist-front transmission belt. Birkhead held meetings of this League in his alleged Christian church. Derounian then went to work for Birkhead, acting as an undercover man and informer among various anti-semitic groups. In accordance with the established technique an anti-semitic person was automatically labeled as a Nazi.

During this time Derounian was leading a strange double life. Under the name of George Pagnanelli, he posed as an Italian, snooping on various petty groups smearing them for their support of the general movement to remain out of the war. Under another materialization he wrote in magazines as John Roy Carlson, Thomas L. Decker and George Paige. As Avedis Derounian he lived the life of a 100-per cent Armenian patriot, writing letters to Armenian papers, writing articles, speaking before Armenian organizations, hounding all persons who dared to doubt the glorious achievements of Soviet Russia in Armenia, but also opposing in his own character America's entry into the war, while as Pagnanelli for

his employers, he was smearing people who held the same views and were being called Nazis.

Whoever criticized the President was called a Nazi by Pagnanelli. But Derounian in the Mirror-Spectator, on Oct. 15, 1941, seven weeks before Pearl Harbor, wrote:

"Though I look upon the gang following the President, as a bit "nutty", as the victims of social, economic and political reforms that could never have succeeded without an earnest effort to win friends rather than breed enemies, they are for the most part a well meaning and sincere bunch. For better or worse, they are in the saddle now. They are the boss. As with Wendell Willkie who is 'in disagreement with many of the domestic policies and disgusted with its methods of handling the defense effort', I do believe: 'We may find fault with Mr. Roosevelt, or disagree with Mr. Churchill, but I insist that no real American can take issue with what they are presently fighting for - the preservation of democracy.'

"But I do not mean to imply an unquestioning obedience to all the President's policies. An immediate declaration of war would prove ruinous to whatever is left of democracy here and abroad. A country which morally, spiritually, economically, militarily is ill equipped, whose productive capacity has been sabotaged from the Right and from the Left, which is woefully short of merchant ships, airplanes, tanks, which has not been able to supply the Isle of Britain with the food and supplies demanded by her - the plunging of such a nation into war would, at this stage of our national debility, prove nothing short of national suicide. And if any war-monger should look upon this stand as unpatriotic we need only remind him that his hypocritical brethren once renounced Wendell Willkie as pro-Nazi, but have not become his boot-lickers."

Just before the end of November, 1941, he engaged in a debate on America's entry into the war against two well-known Armenian professors, men twice his age.

He took the position that we should stay out of the war, denounced his opponents for their views and berated England.

We have a full investigation of this fellow which we deem it not wise to disclose here. Suffice it to say that an investigation will reveal in this episode one of the most farflung conspiracies in character assassination ever known in this country.

VI- PROPAGANDA

While the book "Under Cover" has sold 800,000 copies, this is not in any sense the measure of the damage done by this single episode. The book is merely the textbook of a whole nation-wide conspiracy. As follows:

- (1) Winchell uses its material over the air weekly to smear victims before millions of Americans, adding to the campaign the effectiveness of repetition.
- (2) The Communist magazines and newspapers keep it up daily and weekly reaching the large Communist audience, and providing the fellow-traveller lecturers, teachers, editors and broadcasters with fresh material.
- (3) In the first two months this book was circulated there were 24 special broadcasts, all the leading programs of the air being recruited to plug it, some whole programs being devoted to it.
- (4) Moving picture and television programs were used.
- (5) Various magazines printed compressed versions of the book, reaching more than 20,000,000 readers.

- (6) An immense newspaper campaign costing tens of thousands of dollars was launched.
- (7) The book was mentioned in all sorts of advertising, including commercial-patriotic ads.
- (8) Weekly in synagogues all over the country rabbis have exhorted their congregations to buy it and to urge others to buy it and to lend the volume to others.

The publicity for this book was done by the firm of Louis M. Cottin & Co., of New York City whose chief executive is John F. Gronfein. The records of this company, if summoned, would reveal a campaign of astonishing proportions.

It is merely necessary to add that the indictment of the 30 defendants in the sedition trials is part of this program, the indictment supplying a focus for the whole smear campaign, enabling broadcasters and writers to drive home their attacks on congressman and senators by mentioning them in connection with the indictments.

VII - RADIO

A part of this whole story is the record of Communist and alien infiltration of the radio stations of the country. We are now engaged in a study of the broadcasters and their technique and the incredible extent to which the party line of the Communists and of certain alien groups slants the radio programs of every sort. A great deal of information along this line has already been collected by the House

Committee Investigating the F.C.C. But unfortunately that investigation has been smothered by the Department of Justice by a blow so serious that it ought to be one of the chief subjects of investigation by the Senate.

A great deal of attention has been given to the Foreign Language stations of which there are about 125. They reach millions of people speaking Yiddish, German, Italian and Polish. There is no room here to state all the facts but the following simple statement is of the utmost importance:

In one foreign language station in New York City the program director, the script writer, the censor, the monitor of the Italian-language programs are all aliens or persons planted in the stations by the F.C.C. Problems Division and the OWI, neither of which have any authority under the law to do this.

The FCC established a War Problems Division. Its head is Nathan David. His assistants are Leonard M. Marks, Jerome Spingarn, Robert Keuner, Becker. The Field Section is headed by Marcus Cohn. Special Studios Unit by Mrs. Hilda Shea.

The New York City office is manned by James Guest, Allan Fenner, (not real name), Ira G. Aranow, Frances Kene (not real name).

The OWI did a good deal of the ordering around. Lee Falk, real name Leon Harrison Gross, later known as Epstein was on the job for them.

A man named Prato was senior script editor of the Italian section of the OWI. He had been driven out of Switzerland for life as a Soviet agent and dispenser of Soviet money. He was editor of an Italian paper named Il Mondo owned by Giuseppi Lupis, also a red, also hired by the FCC.

The investigator of the FCC says that the same condition prevails in almost every foreign language broadcasting station investigated. These Communist

aliens, holding authority from the OWI or the FCC drove from the air any man they chose to label as a "fascist" and worked into the programs their own people. These same groups worked with the Anti-Nazi League and the Anti-Defamation League in smearing American native announcers to force them off the air to be replaced by aliens.

A notorious case is that of a man who applied for a license to operate a station in Wilkesbarre, Pa. On the say-so of the Anti-Defamation League he was refused a license because he had permitted a man named Homer Chaillaux to speak on his station and Homer Chaillaux was branded as a fascist. Homer Chaillaux was and is actually national director of Americanization of the American Legion.

All of the foregoing is, of course, a mere sketch of the material available. Supporting documents and testimony of all these statements are already available. But an investigating committee with the proper authority could obtain a great deal more.

I add a line: The Communist provocateurs among the negroes and the means of financing these movements, movements designed to create violence, is also available. But that story can be brought together and cleared up quickly with the authority of an investigating committee. We already have a great deal.

ADDENDA ON "UNDER COVER"

Attached hereto are several photostats. They are as follows:

(1) Photostat of a letter written by Derounian to Jack Morris, his literary agent, with references to the difficulties of getting the book published. This letter shows that a number of publishers turned the book down because it was libelous. But it also reveals the character of the author's mind and the opinion he had of his publisher.

(2) Photostats reproducing the weekly paper and other publications which Derounian got out. They are:

- (a) The Christian Defender
- (b) The Christian Crusader
- (c) The Christian Mobilizer

These photostats give merely the first page of these issues.

(1) The Christian Defender he got out weekly for four or five months. I have other copies of this and the attached is merely a sample of the violent anti-Jewish propaganda he was himself printing and circulating to inflame that sentiment.

(2) The other two publications he does not mention in his book. His connection with these he concealed because the dates show that for over a year or more he was circulating these vicious anti-semitic documents.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
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